

191087

JPRS-UIA-86-024

28 MAY 1986

# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for Public Release  
Distribution Unlimited

20000104 135

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3

Reproduced From  
Best Available Copy

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3

23  
86  
A05

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semimonthly by the NTIS, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

28 MAY 1986

## USSR REPORT INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### WORLDWIDE TOPICS

- Soviet Committee for Defense of Peace Chairman on Peace Year  
(Yuriy Zhukov; ZHURNALIST, No 2, Feb 86)..... 1

#### SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

- CEMA Cooperation: Achievements, Goals, Areas of Development  
(M. Bulash, I. Bebko; EKONOMIKA SOVETSKOY UKRAINY, No 2,  
Feb 86)..... 7

- Briefs  
IIB Council Session Held 18

#### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

- Table of Contents: AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 2, Feb 1986  
(AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 2, Feb 86)..... 19
- USSR Positively Assesses Relations With Non-Aligned States  
(V. Borisov; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 2, Feb 86)..... 21
- Internal Cohesion, Conflicts of Islam in India Discussed  
(B. Klyuyev; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 2, Feb 86)..... 27
- Lebanese Emigres' Activities Abroad, Homeland's Fate Noted  
(S. Maksimov; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 2, Feb 86)..... 33

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Roundtable Discusses Situation in South Africa<br>(AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 2, Feb 86).....                               | 37 |
| Book on Urbanization Process in Eastern Countries Reviewed<br>(A. Loskutova; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 2, Feb 86).....     | 53 |
| WESTERN EUROPE   |    |
| Austria's Political Role, Cooperation With USSR Discussed<br>(Oleg Nikolayevich Nikiforov; ZA RUBEZHOM, No 13, Mar 86)...    | 55 |
| Unofficial Censorship, Disinformation in FRG Attacked<br>(Aleksey Grigoryev; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 9 Jan 86).....              | 64 |
| Spanish Referendum Demonstrates Strength of Anti-War Feeling<br>(Vladimir Pavlovich Chernyshev; ZA RUBEZHOM, No 13, Mar 86). | 69 |
| PRAVDA Views Soviet-Swedish Economic Ties<br>(PRAVDA, 11 Apr 86).....  | 74 |
| Briefs   |    |
| Austrian Visitors in Kazakhstan  | 77 |
| CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC   |    |
| Agricultural Aid to SRV Detailed<br>(F. Bogomolov; EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, No 8, Feb 86).....                                | 78 |
| Briefs   |    |
| USSR-Japan Fisheries Talks Held  | 82 |

/6539

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

SOVIET COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF PEACE CHAIRMAN ON PEACE YEAR

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 2, Feb 86 pp 2-3

[Article by PRAVDA Political Commentator Yuriy Zhukov, chairman of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace: "Year of the Congress, Year of the Struggle for Peace"]

[Text] The present year will go down in history as the year of the 27th congress of the Lenin Party and the first year of the 12th Five-Year Plan. Soviet people are linking with it their hopes for further changes for the better and the consistent implementation of the policy mapped out by the party of a significant acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

In embarking on implementation of long-term creative plans geared to the period up to the end of the present millennium Soviet people proceed from the prospect of the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and the preservation of peace. It is for this reason that the pregress discussion of the drafts of the new version of our party's program, its rules and the Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in the 12th Five-Year Plan and the Period up to the Year 2000 was so enthusiastic. It is for this reason that a good start has been made in the first weeks of the new year on the realization of the plans of the first year of the new 5-year period.

People are inspired by the words of the new version of the CPSU Program, which are full of the profoundest inner strength and conviction, based on the experience of historical development and take fully into consideration the present actual correlation of forces in the world:

"The CPSU proceeds from the fact that, however great the threat to peace created by the policy of aggressive imperialist forces, world war is not a fatal inevitability. Preventing war and saving mankind from catastrophe is possible. This is the historic calling of socialism and all our world's progressive, peace-loving forces."

There is no doubt that the threat looming over the world as a result of the aggressive actions of imperialism is now greater than ever. But never before either have the peace-loving forces countering this threat--the community of socialist countries, the world workers movement, the developing countries and the democratic antiwar movements, which have grown exceptionally--been so great and powerful. This is why even in the present extremely difficult situation it has

been possible, in spite of the most dangerous actions of the aggressive forces, both at the level of public forces and at government level, to reach the common understanding that in the nuclear age war must be excluded from the life of mankind.

Last year our party declared for all to hear that new thinking in foreign policy and new approaches to relations between states are needed today more than ever in the past. The time has come when the world has approached the point where it is necessary to stop, look around, ponder and on the basis of realities, on the basis of a broad approach to the determination of national interests, decide what must be done in the world. After all, it has become a question not only of the opposition of the two social systems but of a choice between survival and mutual destruction.

This was said on behalf of our party by its Central Committee general secretary in Geneva, where, following a long interval, a Soviet-American summit was finally held. Touching on the results of this meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said in his New Year address to the American people: "I believe that one of the main results of my meeting with President Reagan is that we succeeded as leaders and on a purely human level in taking the first steps toward overcoming mistrust and activating the trust factor. A wide and difficult gap still separates us, but we saw in Geneva that it is not insurmountable."

A change for the better is needed in the international arena. Proceeding from this, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Soviet Government adopted a decision on major new foreign policy actions. They were put forward in the statement of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The main action here is a specific program, geared to a precisely determined period of time, of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons worldwide. "The set of new foreign policy initiatives which we propose," the statement says, "is geared to ensuring that mankind greet the year 2000 under peaceful skies and space and that it know no fear of nuclear, chemical or any other threat of annihilation and be firmly confident of its own survival and the continuation of the human race."

We know that the American people desire peace just as passionately as our people. Attesting this are the thousands of letters currently streaming across the Atlantic--Americans are thanking our party and government for the measures which the Soviet Union is adopting aimed at an end to the arms race, unilateral measures included. And a reciprocal stream of letters from all corners of the world, including the USSR, to the White House contains ardent appeals for the U.S. leadership to follow the USSR's example--announce the renunciation of first use of nuclear weapons, abandon nuclear arms testing and the development of space-based weapons, freeze, reduce and subsequently destroy nuclear weapons altogether and ban and destroy chemical weapons.

And there may be no doubt that the present year--the first year of the 12th Five-Year Plan--will be one of ever increasing worldwide struggle to ensure that the accords arrived at at the summit last November in Geneva are implemented.

This year has been declared International Peace Year by the United Nations, but it has not yet become a year of peace. Blood is still being spilled in several

parts of our planet. Still, it has become a year of active struggle for peace, and this struggle will grow. Keeping this struggle in the spotlight will doubtless become one of the main tasks for all of us Soviet journalists this year. It is necessary to broaden and intensify development of this theme both in foreign policy as well as within the sphere of domestic affairs on which progress is strengthening the Soviet Union's international position depends.

And it needs to be said candidly and honestly here by way of self-criticism that the qualitative level of our activity in this plane still far from corresponds to the demands being made on us by the era. After all, it is a fact that in our newspapers and on radio and television the struggle for peace is portrayed more often than not merely in the form of demonstrations, meetings, marches and a variety of seminars and discussions on problems of disarmament.

Yet in practice all these manifestations of the peoples' will to peace, expressive in themselves, represent merely the outward aspect of that most profound realignment of the consciousness of the people's masses which is occurring in our time. "If not we, who will avert the military threat?" is the question now being asked themselves by tens and hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. And they are seeking and finding new, highly efficient and effective forms of their participation in the accomplishment of this world-historical task.

What is the strength of the Soviet movement of peace supporters? The fact that an understanding of the personal responsibility of each participant in our movement for the preservation and consolidation of peace is making itself felt increasingly strongly with every succeeding month. An understanding of the sacred truth that the most effective method of the struggle for peace is a strengthening of the economic might of our power--the reliable guarantee of the quality of the forces and equal security of the states belonging to different social systems--has reached the bottom of the hearts of millions of workers, kolkhoz members, scientific officers and cultural figures.

The USSR working people are seeking and finding specific forms of effective efforts aimed at supporting this security guarantee. I will give as an example the labor peace drives, when people announce days of antiwar campaigns proclaimed by the United Nations and the World Peace Council and shock labor days, and, furthermore, many of them transfer the money earned at this time to the Peace Fund. Of course, such actions are conducted on a voluntary basis. Here is a concrete fact: in the course of the Mass Actions for Disarmament Week which was held last October there were three times as much in the way of contributions to the Peace Fund as in other weeks of the year.

Unfortunately, in illustrating the broadest noble upsurge of our people's creative assertiveness making possible and real the accelerated development of our economy our mass media are reflecting this new and highly promising phenomenon in the life of Soviet society extremely infrequently and sparingly. The result is somehow thus: the struggle for an increase in labor productivity proceeds of its own accord, as it were, and the growth of the Soviet individual's recognition of his responsibility for the fate of peace also proceeds of its own accord. Yet an in-depth and striking portrayal of the interconnection of these processes would be of considerable significance both economically and politically.

And how important it would be to spot and illustrate in good time creative initiatives from below of rank and file peace supporters responding in exceptionally lively manner to all international events and answering each aggressive action of the enemies of peace each in his own way, with his own words and deeds! An eloquent reminder of this was the colossal success of the recent KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA action, when in a matter of days over 12 million persons, responding to its published appeal of a group of young men and women, sent the U.S. President postcards demanding the renunciation of nuclear tests.

What striking and fascinating essays of great political significance we could be writing about the ordinary activists of the peace movement performing a tremendous amount of work in the 120 Soviet committees for the defense of peace! And about the innumerable international friendship and solidarity clubs created by our youth and schoolchildren. About how Soviet women are helping the victims of aggression in Asian, African and Latin American countries. About the moving child's parcels containing notebooks, pencils and home-made toys for the children of Nicaragua--Peace Fund employees recently invited Moscow Komsomol members to a voluntary Saturday work day to sort and pack in containers the huge mounds of such parcels mailed to: "Peace Fund for Forwarding to Managua, 10, Kropotkinskaya ulitsa, Moscow"....

Diverse and interesting are the actions in support of peace performed by Soviet people. We learn, for example, that on each long run on the Odessa-Novosibirsk line a guard on this train, a war veteran, strikes up conversations with passengers on the subject "What each of us must do to strengthen peace" and that, following this, the participants in such discussions record their thoughts on this subject in his big self-made notebook--he has already sent the committee three such notebooks.

We received from Tajikistan a lovingly bound album containing a protest against the arms race written by a bus driver and the tens of thousands of signatures to this protest which he collected--at this person's request we forwarded his album to the UN secretary general. From Magadan we received the same message containing thousands of signatures--this message had been written and the signatures collected by a woman who sells newspapers at a stand. An emotional letter was received from Poltava from a machine milker, a mother of four, who emphatically demands that the U.S. Administration finally listen to the voice of its own people, end the preparations for "star wars" and implement in practice the accords arrived at in Geneva.

Hundreds of such examples could be cited--and what a broad field there is here for journalists' creative activity!

As far as foreign policy subject matter is concerned, our international affairs brother is invested with special responsibility in the Year of Peace. Now, when the leaders of states are reaching accords on fundamental questions on whose solution the fate of peace largely depends, the problem of the correspondence of word and deed is more acute than ever.

We frequently speak and write about the fact that the most important propositions recorded in the joint Soviet-American statement in Geneva have engendered in the broadest people's masses hopes for an end to the arms race and a long-awaited



normalization of international relations. But these hopes will be justified only when the propositions formulated in the Geneva are embodied in practice.

It is all the more important to rebuff the increasingly new dangerous attempts making their presence felt in the West to call in question these accords or to ignore them. And it is just as important to objectively note each constructive step aimed at their realization.

In spite of the importunate attempts of reactionary forces to revive the cold war climate and fan anti-Sovietism even more strongly, people in the West are seeing increasingly distinctly that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are persistently aiming at peace, at a recovery in international relations and at a civilized character being imparted to them, as befits people of the enlightened 20th century.

This is why the International Year of Peace has begun under the sign of a new upsurge of the antiwar movements, although the bourgeois press attempted to bury them in advance. As E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, colorfully put it, never before had there been "such a rising of the planet's conscience in defense of peace" as in connection with the Geneva meeting--the endeavor of the broadest people's masses to ensure the peaceful development of interstate relations is making itself felt everywhere.

An expressive reminder of this was the success of the international conference of nongovernment organizations held in January under the sponsorship of the United Nations in Geneva. Its motto proclaimed: "Together for Peace!" Preparations are now under way for the World Peace Council session which will take place in April.

This aspiration of the participants in the antiwar movements to cohesion and the organization of, if not joint, then parallel actions represents a sign of the times. The flame of hope for lasting peace which blazed up in Geneva is summoning the peoples to active and effective intervention in states' policy, and neither police repression nor the persecution of peace supporters in the bourgeois press are capable of preventing the constant growth of the nationwide recognition of responsibility for the fate of peace.

I recently received a letter from an American federal prison in the state of West Virginia. It was written by a participant in the antiwar movement, Helen Woodson, mother of 11 children, who had been thrown into this prison for 18 years on the absurd charge of having attempted to put out of action a Minuteman nuclear missile. In actual fact she together with two Catholic priests and one other participant in a pacifist organization had performed a symbolic act of protest--they had attacked with a mechanical pick the flagstone covering the entrance to a missile silo and sprinkled their blood on it.

But prison has not intimidated this woman. "The world needs peace," she writes, "and if ordinary people start to assume personal responsibility for disarmament, the goal will be achieved. Prison is a small price to pay for participation in the cause of disarmament, and I greet you joyfully from the prison cell."

The subject of the noble sacrifice of such intrepid fighters for peace championing man's main right--the right to life--merits the best works of our most gifted men of letters being devoted to it.

Time is flying. The first month of the International Year of Peace is already behind us. And life itself demands that we in our editorial offices embark more rapidly on the elaboration and implementation of plans connected with illustration of the most important subject of 1986--that of the struggle for the consolidation of peace--both within our country and in the international arena.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo "Pravda", "Zhurnalist", 1986

8850

CSO: 1807/213

## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### CEMA COOPERATION: ACHIEVEMENTS, GOALS, AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT

Kiev EKONOMIKA SOVETSKOY UKRAINY in Russian No 2, Feb 86 pp 70-76

[Article by M. Bulash, docent, candidate of economic sciences, and I. Bebko, docent, candidate of economic sciences: "Economic Cooperation among the Socialist Countries: Achievements, Trends, Development Prospects"]

[Text] Workers in the countries of the socialist community are greeting the regular congresses of their communist and workers' parties with new successes in the development of the socialist economy, science and culture, and improvements in the material well-being and spiritual level of the people. Work is underway to comply with the decisions of the CEMA top-level economic conference and implement long-term strategy for socioeconomic development and the deepening of mutual cooperation. The program for scientific and technical progress in the CEMA member countries through the year 2000, adopted at the 41st (Special) CEMA Meeting in December 1985, is designed to make a major contribution to accelerating socioeconomic development, consolidating the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, and revealing more fully the advantages of the new type of international economic relations.

The friendly countries are strengthening their mutual relations on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism, deepening and perfecting socialist economic integration, and reliably safeguarding the security of their peoples. "The socialist community," it is noted in the new edition of the CPSU Program, "is an authoritative force of the times without which no single question of world policy could be resolved; it is a firm bulwark of peace, the most consistent defender of healthy, peaceful, democratic principles in international relations, and a major obstacle on the path of imperialist reaction." [1]

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are fighting persistently to relax international tension, weaken the military threat from the imperialist states, stop the arms race, and achieve agreement on disarmament. The results of the Soviet-U.S. Geneva summit negotiations have been fully shared with and are supported by the Warsaw Pact member states. This was confirmed at the Prague meeting of top leaders from these states which took place after the Geneva talks. Those participating in the Prague meeting assessed the activity of CPSU Central Committee general

secretary M.S. Gorbachev at the Soviet-U.S. summit talks as an important contribution in pursuing the general course of the fraternal socialist states.

The materials from the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet that took place in late November 1985 and the report presented at that session by M.S. Gorbachev on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit talks reflected the consistency of the CPSU's course toward further upsurge in the economy of our country, improvements in social relations, and the strengthening of security and the maintenance of peace. Implementation of the Main Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR 1986-1990 and the Period through the Year 2000 will create favorable opportunities for successful realization of the long-term programs for the development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the CEMA countries.

Thanks to the selfless labor, friendship and mutual aid between the countries of the socialist community, in recent years their economic and scientific and technical potential has been substantially consolidated and the decisive advantages of the world socialist system have again been demonstrated. This is confirmed by the figures for development in the main sphere of human activity, namely, the economy.

Over the last decade the CEMA countries have doubled the volume of industrial output while the developed capitalist states increased it only by slightly over one-third. The average annual growth rate for industrial output during the period 1971-1983 was 5.6 percent in the CEMA countries, and the figure for national income was 4.6 percent. The corresponding figures for the EEC countries were 1.5 percent and 2.2 percent. The socialist community, where one-tenth of the world's population lives, produces one-fourth of the entire world's national income, one-third of world industrial output, and one-fifth of agricultural output. [2]

The 1981-1985 plans for economic and social development have been successfully fulfilled. In 1984, in almost all CEMA countries economic development rates grew noticeably compared with earlier years. Thus, in 1984 compared with the previous year the national income produced increased as follows: in Bulgaria 4.6 percent, in Hungary 3 percent, in the GDR 5.5 percent, in Mongolia 4.4 percent, in Poland 5 percent, in Romania 7.7 percent, in Czechoslovakia 3.2 percent. [3] During the period 1981-1985 the national income of the USSR rose 17 percent. During the five-year period more than 1,000 new, up-to-date industrial enterprises were put into operation. [4]

The agreed strategic course of the Marxist-Leninist parties, aimed at improving production efficiency, making more complete use of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, and deepening the international socialist division of labor is being undeviatingly pursued. Many years of experience confirm that economic and scientific and technical cooperation among the socialist countries is mutually advantageous: it helps in overcoming the obstacles and difficulties that arise during the process of developing progressive social relations and facilitates the fulfillment of socioeconomic programs. The Marxist-Leninist parties are strengthening friendship and cooperation among the people, indoctrinating the workers in a spirit of internationalism and a heightened sense of responsibility for timely and good-

quality compliance with obligations under the terms of economic agreements between the socialist countries, and promoting the broader study and exchange of advanced production experience.

In his report at the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev noted the following: "One increasingly important task is comprehensive improvement in and enrichment of cooperation and the development of all-around links with the fraternal countries of socialism, insuring their close cooperation in the political, economic, ideological, defense and other fields, and concern organically to the combine national and international interests of all participants in this great community." [5]

The need to further consolidate the fraternal countries is dictated by the scale and complexity of the tasks that they resolve and by the need to make more complete use of the achievements of today's scientific and technical revolution. The accelerated buildup of the world socialist system's economic and scientific and technical potential is becoming increasingly urgent for victory in world competition with the capitalist system. The Soviet Union is setting qualitatively new tasks aimed at accelerating socioeconomic development. It is emphasized in the documents of the CPSU Central Committee October (1985) Plenum that the country's accelerated socioeconomic development should insure that the materially and spiritually rich dynamically social lives of Soviet people run their courses under conditions of peace and further acceleration in the economic and defensive might of our motherland. This will transform in a fundamental way all aspects of life in Soviet society.

On the basis of the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Integration, the Marxist-Leninist parties and socialist states have developed a common strategic course and specified the main directions for further mutual cooperation and the deepening of socialist economic integration for the long term, through to the end of this century.

During the process of implementing the decisions of the economic conference, in all the friendly countries special attention is being paid to accelerating the switch onto the intensive path of development, enhancing efficiency on the basis of every possible acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and the rational disposition of production forces, taking into account the international socialist division of labor. In agreements covering the 1986-1990 five-year national economic plans for the economic and social development of the CEMA countries, the conference decisions are being taken into account. Thus, in the draft Main Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR 1986-1990 and the Period through the Year 2000, prepared for the 27th CPSU Congress, the following is stated: "To agree economic and scientific and technical policy with the fraternal countries within the CEMA framework and on a bilateral basis with a view to finding joint and effective resolutions to major problems in the spheres of science and technology, industry, agriculture, transportation and capital construction, and also seeking out new forms and opportunities for developing production specialization and cooperation, mutual trade and other forms of cooperation. To coordinate more fully the plans for economic and social development." [6]

The draft Main Directions also take into account the more extensive development of cooperation with the CEMA countries in developing and introducing new equipment, technologies and materials and the more active involvement of associations and enterprises in this work, including through the development of direct production links with enterprises in the fraternal countries, and also the creation of joint enterprises. Provision is made for raising the technical-economic level and quality of articles for export to friendly countries, greater standardization within the CEMA framework, and other measures concerning socialist economic integration. [7]

The comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress provides for the concentration of efforts and the organization of cooperation within the CEMA framework in priority directions, namely, the use of electronics in the national economy, comprehensive automation, nuclear power engineering, new materials and technologies for producing and processing them, and biotechnology. [8] Implementation of the comprehensive program will increase opportunities for developing production cooperation and specialization in the CEMA countries and consolidating their all-around cooperation.

The development of economic cooperation and the deepening of socialist integration make up a law-governed process reflecting the objective trend toward the internationalization of production and of all economic life. This trend was first seen under capitalism. V.I. Lenin noted that "... all human economic, political and spiritual life is becoming increasingly internationalized already under capitalism. Socialism will internationalize it completely." [9] The internationalization of life under socialism is taking place within the process of all-around economic cooperation between friendly countries and the planned development of the international socialist division of labor. It is accompanied by an intensification of interdependence in reproduction processes in these countries, the development and consolidation of production forces, and improvements in production relations in the world socialist economy. The internationalization of economic life forms the basis of economic cooperation between the friendly countries.

The main substance of the CEMA countries' economic relations is the planned organization of international socialist division of labor and the continuous exchange of various material boons and scientific and technical results. In recent years economic relations have been characterized by a further increase in the proportion of production cooperation in the mutual relations of these countries, along with joint capital investments, the division of labor in work on urgent scientific problems and the practical introduction of research results, and the development of direct links between economic associations and enterprises and the scientific research establishments. Business contacts are being expanded between specialists in the various sectors of the national economy and figures in science and culture. Advanced production experience in the friendly countries is being studied more broadly and purposefully and being creatively used. The more active and dynamic interaction of the CEMA countries in all spheres of economic and scientific and technical cooperation is now an important feature of their development at the present stage.

During the process of cooperation, trends are seen that indicate a deepening and improvement in the mutual economic and scientific and technical relations

between the countries of the socialist community and the greater effectiveness of integration measures. The trend toward development and consolidation of international socialist labor cooperation is progressive and therefore promising.

International socialist labor cooperation may be defined as planned, agreed actions of the same type in the socioeconomic sense, in the countries during the process of effecting production and scientific and technical cooperation in order for them to achieve mutually advantageous economic results. International socialist labor cooperation is a category of the world socialist economy. The production relations established during the process of improving international cooperation among the socialist countries form the basis of the system of relations in the world socialist economy.

The shaping of international socialist labor cooperation is being determined by the deepening of the mutual division of labor in material production--in industry, construction and transportation, in the fields of joint scientific research and design work, in making joint capital investments, in the various forms of cooperation among the agro-industrial complexes, and in other sectors and spheres in which national economies interact. The mutual unity in labor cooperation and the division of labor reflects the growing complexity of social labor.

When considering the mutual links between these processes, K. Marx remarked that "the division of labor is a special, specific and further developed form of cooperation and a powerful means for increasing the productive force of labor." [10] The deepening of the international socialist division of labor during the course of the development of socialist economic integration determines the further development of international socialist labor cooperation. In contrast to the unequal international economic relations seen under capitalism, which intensify antagonism and the contradictions between states and peoples, the division of labor and labor cooperation in the world socialist system strengthen relations of mutual aid, collectivism, and socialist solidarity among workers in different countries.

The features of development in international socialist labor cooperation now consist of its focus on production intensification and economic cooperation among the friendly countries. The implementation of long-term comprehensive programs for production and scientific and technical cooperation has been activated on the basis of the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration. During the Eighties a start has been made on implementing the jointly developed agreements and arrangements stemming from the long-term goal-oriented cooperation programs. The long-term goal-oriented programs and bilateral programs (general schemes) for the development of specialization and cooperation make up a very important part of communist and worker party economic strategy aimed at providing the countries of the socialist community with fuel, energy, raw materials, output from machine tool building and industrial equipment and from agriculture and the food industry, and with consumer goods and the accelerated development of transportation.

Under the conditions of socialist integration, new sectors are becoming involved in the international division of labor and production in the rapidly

developing economies of the socialist countries. The integration methods that they have developed and implemented embody progressive production concepts and advanced scientific ideas. Under these conditions the planned links in international socialist labor cooperation are becoming more complex. The proportion of material boons and of scientific and technological results achieved in demand in other countries is growing in reproduction processes in the national economies.

Dependence of reproduction processes and mutual economic complementarity are characterized by the degree to which the main requirements of the national economies in the socialist countries for many of the most important kinds of output are satisfied. Thus, they insure their import requirements through mutual exchange as follows: machines and equipment 68 percent, hard coal 99 percent; oil 70 percent, natural gas 93 percent, iron ore 77 percent, rolled ferrous metal 66 percent, lumber 99 percent, consumer goods 61 percent. The value of mutual deliveries and services averages more than 18 percent of the CEMA countries' national incomes. [11]

The approximation of reproduction processes under the conditions of socialist economic integration is reflected by foreign trade growth rates among the CEMA countries. During the period 1970-1983 their mutual trade turnover increased by a factor of 4.9 [12], while in 1984 it reached R185 billion, that is, it grew R18 billion compared with the year before. A 7.7-percent increase in mutual trade among the CEMA countries has been planned for 1985. [13] The annual rate of increase exceeds national income growth. This testifies to the growing unification of labor activity among the socialist countries and the further deepening of international socialist labor cooperation.

It is on the basis of cooperation in terms of production efforts and funding that the countries of the socialist community provide for their requirements of fuel, energy and raw materials. Major energy projects and enterprises to produce valuable kinds of industrial raw materials have been jointly constructed. One good example of effective production cooperation among the CEMA countries is the construction of high-capacity international systems to transport oil and natural gas from the eastern regions of the USSR into the friendly countries. As the result of collective efforts, compared with 1970, in 1983 production of all kinds of primary energy sources increased by a factor of 1.6 and generation of electric power rose by a factor of 1.9. [14]

The improvements in economic cooperation and the deepening of socialist integration among the CEMA countries are introducing qualitative changes in the process of developing production cooperation in the world socialist economy. One progressive trend is growth in international intrasector cooperation, which is more effective than intersector cooperation. Production specialization and cooperation are being effected to produce machines and equipment for the power-engineering, heating, and ore-mining industries, the agro-industrial complex, transportation and the production of consumer goods, and also the means for reconstructing machine-tool building itself. Mining equipment and assemblies and parts for strip-mining of minerals, enriching solid fuels and ferrous and nonferrous metallic ores and mined chemical raw materials are being produced on the basis of specialization and cooperation.



During the period 1981-1985 the value of mutual deliveries for this group of articles was in excess of R410 million. [15]

In the unanimous opinion of specialists, specialization and cooperation are extremely effective in the manufacture of equipment for nuclear power stations within the CEMA framework. The construction of nuclear power stations is one of the most important directions in the generation of electric power. Thanks to the cooperation between Soviet scientists and construction workers in recent years nuclear power stations have been built in the GDR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary; and are under construction or the preparatory work is being done in Poland, Cuba and Romania. A start has been made on the construction of even more powerful, new nuclear power stations in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Under the terms of the 28 June 1979 agreement on multilateral production specialization and cooperation and mutual deliveries of equipment for nuclear power stations from enterprises in the CEMA countries, in 1983 alone equipment and machines worth more than R835 million were produced. In accordance with this agreement the USSR has delivered equipment and machines to Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Cuba. In turn, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have manufactured and supplied equipment for nuclear power stations in the USSR and other fraternal countries. [16]

The following example gives a good idea of the nature of the orders filled to manufacture and deliver specialized equipment for nuclear power stations. For Hungary's first "Pacz" nuclear power station, the reactor was built and delivered by Czechoslovakia, the bioprotection system by Bulgaria, the overhead cranes by the GDR, the heat-exchange equipment by Poland, and the turbines by the Soviet Union. Only a few years ago the reactors and other complex equipment was being produced only by the Soviet Union. In recent years the countries of the socialist community have drawn up a program for the construction of nuclear power stations and heat-supply stations through the year 2000. These latter are a new direction in nuclear power engineering. [17]

Other important sectors of machine tool building are also being developed on the basis of international socialist division of labor among the CEMA countries. Specialization and cooperation are being deepened in the production of NC metal-cutting machine tools and subassemblies and assemblies for them. Over the last 5 years the volume of mutual deliveries was to have exceeded R900 million. And under agreement between the CEMA countries for specialization in the production of 150-horsepower tractors and sets of agricultural equipment for them, and of machines and equipment for livestock farming together with assemblies and parts for them, the value of mutual deliveries over the five-year period was to have exceeded R5 billion. [18]

Realization of a long-term goal-oriented program for cooperation in the field of transportation continues. The efforts of the friendly countries are focused on developing and improving all kinds of transportation. Within the region of the CEMA countries much work is being done to lay new railroad lines and secondary track and electrify the railroads, and to modernize border stations in order to improve freight and passenger movements both within

countries and on international lines. International navigation is also being expanded and improved. A unified container transportation system is being developed. Pipeline transportation is being expanded. In the future the increased shipment of gas into the friendly countries could be facilitated through the joint construction of a new export gas pipeline from West Siberia capable of carrying 20 billion to 22 billion cubic meters annually. [19]

The socialist countries are paying more attention to the production of consumer goods. Predictions covering many years have been drawn up for the development of sectors producing consumer goods. Within the CEMA framework 12 agreements have been signed for production specialization and cooperation, primarily for the textile, wood-processing, footwear, and leather-and-haberdashery industries. Predictions have also been worked out for the development of scientific and technical support for the sectors through 1990. Already in 1985 the mutual exchange of consumer goods within the CEMA framework should exceed 20 million transfer rubles. [20] Long-term goal-oriented programs are being augmented and clarified. Thus, in 1983, by mutual agreement of the sides the "Comprehensive Measures on Cooperation To Improve Supplies of Foodstuffs to the Population of the CEMA Member Countries," which augmented and prolonged the goal-oriented program through the year 2000 adopted earlier, were approved.

The planned implementation of long-term economic programs by the CEMA countries is promoting a deepening of production cooperation and intensifying the growth of production concentration, because each individual socialist state is developing specific kinds of production in order to insure satisfaction of domestic requirements and to export output to friendly countries. And this can be resolved only by developing large-scale, concentrated, long-series production.

Increasing production concentration in the CEMA countries under conditions of a deepening division of labor between them is creating the material foundation for accelerating the process of forming, on the basis of the more extensive use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the production forces of a world socialist economy and the social forms for their development, namely, international socialist production relations. The production forces of the world socialist economy make up the material substance of international socialist production relations, which under the conditions of deepening socialist economic integration are being developed more dynamically. The presence of these processes and their shaping and consolidation constitute the leading trend in the development of the world socialist economy.

International socialist production relations are the dialectically interconnected aggregate of production relations in the national [natsionalnyy] national economic [narodnokhozyaystvennyy] complexes in the socialist countries and of relations in their mutual economic cooperation and the division of labor. In terms of the substance, component elements and nature of their manifestation, international socialist production relations are not some larger-scale repetition of the production relations within the individual socialist countries. They are basically an established system of production relations operating in the interstate sphere. Their material

foundation is made up of the relations in socialist ownership in the form of national-state ownership and stable economic relations in exchange and the division of labor between friendly countries. International socialist production relations possess definite independence and provide incentive for creative activity. They are realized as the economic interests of socialist states, acting as motivating incentives to economic activity within the process of economic interaction.

As they coordinate economic policy, the socialist states take into account the common and national interests of the friendly countries and exert an influence on production relations, and thus accelerate the development of production forces. This is achieved by the agreed realization of new forms and methods in their organizational activity to effect economic cooperation, eliminate outdated relations between the countries, and perfect existing relations.

The shaping and consolidation of production forces in the world socialist system are taking place on the basis of growth in production forces in the national economic complexes of the socialist countries closely interacting with the deepening of their economic cooperation and development of the international socialist division of labor. This process is being accelerated thanks to the joint quest for and utilization of progressive forms and methods for economic cooperation, among which very great importance attaches to cooperation between the socialist states in the field of planning activity, particularly in introducing the program, goal-oriented method for long-term planning for major integrated measures. The CEMA countries have already acquired and are augmenting useful experience gained in the compilation and implementation of long-term, multilateral and bilateral economic programs.

Important projects have been commissioned and are being developed within the framework of the long-term, goal-oriented programs for cooperation, including the Khmel'nitskaya nuclear power station, high-tension power transmission lines, the Mozyr Yeast Fodder Plant, the Krivoy Rog Mining-and-Enriching Combine, an enterprise on Cuba for the production of output containing nickel and cobalt, new state farms in Mongolia and other projects. National economic projects that have been or are being jointly developed, and scientific and planning work are insuring that production forces are developed along the decisive avenues.

The CEMA countries have drawn up and signed more than 230 multilateral agreements and contracts for economic and scientific and technical cooperation covering about 200 measures in long-term, goal-oriented cooperation programs. They include 10 agreements on the joint construction of new projects, 12 on joint expansion and reconstruction of existing enterprises, and 4 on joint geological survey work. More than 200 agreements regulate the further deepening of production specialization and cooperation and scientific and technical cooperation. [21] Implementation of measures in the long-term, goal-oriented programs is producing tangible positive results in providing the CEMA countries with electric power, improving the quality of the machines and equipment exchanged, increasing the degree to which raw materials and energy sources are processed, especially oil, making comprehensive use of local raw materials and improving other production indicators. [22]

The socialist countries are deepening and perfecting the development of bilateral production specialization and cooperation programs. The Soviet Union has joined in these kinds of programs with all the European CEMA member countries for the period through 1990. Taking into account the experience gained, programs for the development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the CEMA countries, covering the period through the year 2000, are being or have been worked out.

In the declaration issued by the top-level economic conference the confidence is expressed that "the CEMA member countries have at their disposal everything they need to raise mutual cooperation to a new level." [23] This is of great importance for the prospects for further development of the economies of the socialist countries on the basis of more effective forms of cooperation. As they pursue agreed economic policy the socialist states within the CEMA framework are defining and working out on a collective basis ways to solve the major economic problems of mutual interest. On this basis, work is being done on problems that will be of great significance in determining the directions for the long-term economic development and cooperation of each of the fraternal countries. It is also a question of jointly defining ways to interact in the spheres of science and technology, material production and capital construction. Note is made in the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress that the priority directions for cooperation among the CEMA countries form the basis for these countries' work on and implementation of an agreed scientific and technical policy in fields of mutual interest, while for interested countries there is a unified scientific and technical policy. [24]

It notes in the draft main directions for the economic and social development of the USSR that "it is necessary to insure the more complete use of the opportunities offered by socialist economic integration in solving very important national economic tasks and in strengthening the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community and its positions in the world." [25] Fulfillment of the national economic plans for the USSR and the countries of the socialist community during the new five-year plan will insure further growth in their economic potential, enhance their international authority and strengthen peace in the world.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Program of the CPSU. Draft (New Edition)." Moscow, Politizdat, 1985, p 13.
2. EKONOMICHE SOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV No 1, 1985, p 68.
3. PRAVDA 18 Mar 1985.
4. PRAVDA 9 Nov 1985.
5. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS. 23 aprelya 1985 goda." [Materials from the 23 April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum], Moscow, Politizdat, 1985, p 25.
6. PRAVDA 9 Nov 1985.

7. Ibid.
8. "Kompleksnaya programa nauchno-tekhnicheskogo progressa stran-chlenov SEV do 2000 goda. Osnovnyye polozheniya" [Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress in the CEMA Member Countries through the Year 2000. Main Provisions]. PRAVDA 19 Dec 1985.
9. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 23, p 318.
10. K. Marx and F. Engels. Works, Vol 47, p 295.
11. EKONOMICHSKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV No 7, 1984, p 22.
12. "Mir sotsializma v tsifrakh i faktakh. 1983" [The Socialist World in Facts and Figures. 1983]. Moscow, Politizdat. p 128.
13. EKONOMICHSKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV No 8, 1985, p 55.
14. KOMMUNIST No 10, 1984, pp 10-11.
15. "The Socialist World in Facts and Figures. 1983." op. cit. p 25.
16. Ibid., p 33.
17. Ibid., p 31.
18. Ibid., p 25.
19. KOMMUNIST No 10, 1984, pp 10-11.
20. TRYBUNA LUDU 18 Feb 1985.
21. EKONOMICHSKSYA GAZETA No 10, 1985, p 20.
22. Ibid.
23. PRAVDA 16 Jun 1984.
24. PRAVDA 19 Dec 1985.
25. PRAVDA 9 Nov 1985.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo "Radyanska Ukrayina", "Ekonomika Sovetskoy Ukrainy",  
1986

9642  
CSO: 1825/56

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

IIB COUNCIL SESSION HELD--A regular session of the International Investment Bank Council was held on 8-9 April in Moscow. Delegations of the bank's member countries--Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and the CSSR--participated in the work of the council session. The session was attended by representatives of the CEMA Secretariat and the International Bank for Economic Cooperation, and also by representatives of the SFRY Government and, as observers, representatives of the (DA) Afghanistan Bank, the State Bank of Laos, the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, the European Investment Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the African Development Bank, the Northern Investment Bank, and the Bank of Finland. The council examined and approved the reports on the bank's activity in 1985 and its balance as of 1 January 1986, which were submitted by the board, and it adopted decisions on the distribution of profits over 1985 and on giving credit to new projects. The council also discussed and took decisions on other questions of the bank's activity. The session proceeded in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and businesslike cooperation. [TASS report under rubric: "Official Reports"] [Text] [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Apr 86 Morning Edition p 4 PM] /8918

CSO: 1825/65

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

TABLE OF CONTENTS: AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA NO 2, FEB 1986

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 86 p 1

|  |    |
|--|----|
| [Text] TO GREET THE 27th CPSU CONGRESS   |    |
| Strategy of Peace Versus Nuclear Madness.....  | 2  |
| V. Borisov. The Soviet Union and the Developing Countries.....                         | 4  |
| P. Zhilin. Let Us Not Forget the Lessons of History.....                               | 8  |
| Mangalyn Dugersuren. Fraternal, Inviolable Friendship.....                             | 11 |
| In the Objective--Angola.....  | 13 |
| IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS  |    |
| B. Klyuyev. Islam in India.....  | 14 |
| OUR TRIBUNAL   |    |
| Said Amir Zara. Afghanistan. The Social Base of Revolution is<br>Growing Stronger..... | 18 |
| COUNTRIES, PEOPLE, TIME  |    |
| S. Maksimov. Where Do The Lebanese Live?.....  | 20 |
| "ROUNDTABLE"   |    |
| South Africa: The Hour of Liberation is Approaching.....                               | 24 |
| RESPONSES TO READERS   |    |
| P. Kukushkin. Algerian Emigrants in France.....  | 31 |
| SCIENTIFIC LIFE  |    |
| V. Nikolayev. Tasks of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle.....                              | 34 |
| TRAVELS, MEETINGS, IMPRESSIONS   |    |
| S. Kulik. Mozambique. Let Me Introduce: Cashew Nuts.....                               | 35 |
| A. Dikarev, A. Lukin. From a Tibetan Diary.....  | 38 |
| D. Morozov. Tamilnadu: A Time of Change.....   | 41 |
| EVENTS...FIGURES...FACTS...  | 44 |
| CULTURE, LITERATURE, ART   |    |
| Ye. Gorokhovik. India. Khayal--High Inspiration.....                                   | 48 |
| A. Mamonov. Kimura Seiti: "My Heart Belongs to Pushkin and Chekhov"                    | 49 |
| Stories by Singapore Writers.....  | 52 |

THE PAGES OF HISTORY

O. Solodkova. Catholic Legations at the Court of the Great Mogols.. 55

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, MORALS AND MANNERS

N. Rusanov. The Chinese Wedding..... 57

NUMISMATICS

A. Nikitin. Coins of Papua New Guinea..... 60

IN THE WORLD OF BOOKS..... 62

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1985. Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12322

CSO: 1807/221



THIRD WORLD ISSUES

USSR POSITIVELY ASSESSES RELATIONS WITH NON-ALIGNED STATES

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 86 pp 4-7

[Article by V. Borisov: "The Soviet Union and the Liberated Countries"]

[Excerpts] An historic event in the life of the Soviet communists and all our people is approaching--the 27th CPSU Congress. The Soviet people are greeting the highest party forum with good feelings and with a sense of assuredness in their forces and in tomorrow. The sources of the life-confirming optimism lie in the successes which the Land of the Soviets has achieved entering into the stage of developed socialism, and in the clear understanding of the prospects for the continued development of Soviet society and the tasks facing the party and the people.

These tasks have been formulated in the outline of the new edition of the CPSU Program, which on the eve of the Congress has been introduced for widespread discussion by all communists and all workers of the USSR. "The third CPSU Program in its current edition," notes the preamble to the outline, "is a program of planned and comprehensive development of socialism and of the further advancement of Soviet society toward communism on the basis of accelerating the socio-economic development of the country. It is a program of struggle for peace and social progress."

The CPSU considers the development of equal and friendly relations with the liberated countries to be among the main goals and directions of its international policy.

The years which have elapsed since the time of the 26th Congress have convincingly confirmed the principle nature and continuity of the CPSU line in relation to the peoples who have thrown off the yoke of colonialism and to the national-liberation movements. This is a line favoring the expansion of friendly ties with the developing countries, the firm support of the desire of peoples to determine their own fate, and the close interaction with them in the name of independence and peace. The Soviet Union has always been and still remains a true friend of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are fighting for their independence and proceeding along the path of social progress. It views them as its friends and equal partners in the struggle for peace, progress, and a better future.

In its relations with the liberated countries, the Soviet Union is guided by the following basic principles:

--recognition of the right of all peoples to manage their own internal affairs by themselves, without any outside intervention;

--a strong respect for the territorial integrity of these countries and the inviolability of their boundaries; no outside support given to any separatist movements directed at dividing these countries;

--unconditional recognition of the right of every state in Africa, Asia and Latin America to equal participation in international life and in the development of relations with any country in the world;

--total and unconditional recognition of the sovereignty of these states over their natural resources, as well recognition in deed of their complete equality in international economic relations;

--support of their efforts directed at liquidating the remnants of colonialism and eradication of racism and apartheidism in accordance with well-known U.N. decisions;

--respect for the status of nonalignment selected by most of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Soviet Union is guided by these rules of behavior in its approach to all the developing countries without exception, regardless of their political order, foreign orientation, or the role which they play in international affairs.

These principles are also the basis for the USSR's approach to the states of the socialist orientation. At the same time, the interrelations with them bear a peculiar character, permeated by the spirit of revolutionary solidarity.

In recent years, the authority of these countries in the zone of the national liberation movement and their influence on the processes taking place in the developing world have notably increased. Speaking out from positions of combatting imperialism and reaction, they embody the most continuous and stable anti-imperialist tendency in the politics of states which have recently been liberated from colonial slavery and other developing countries.

Angola, Ethiopia, Tanzania, South Yemen and other states which have selected a socialist orientation have achieved definite success in building a new life, in strengthening national sovereignty, in limiting the influence of foreign and local capital, and in restructuring the state apparatus on a new and democratic basis. The implementation of progressive socio-economic transformations which open the paths for the future changeover to socialist construction is involving ever broader masses of workers. The leadership role of the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties is increasing. Some of them have pronounced the basis of their activity to be the principles of scientific socialism. Among such parties, which orient themselves around the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, for example, are the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, the MPLA [Mouvement Populaire pour la Liberation de l'Angola]--Labor Party, FRELIMO [Front de Liberation du Mozambique], and others.

The movement in the socialist direction by the liberated countries is associated with numerous difficulties which are tied specifically to the shortage of financial and other material means, the shortage of trained administrative and technical personnel, and the comparatively low cultural level of the labor strata in the city and the village. At the same time, the progressive forces in these countries must operate under conditions of constant repression on the part of domestic and foreign reaction, and oftentimes even direct aggression, organized and directed by imperialism. Thus, the progressive countries of southern Africa--Angola and Mozambique--are subjected to the aggression of Pretoria and the subversive actions of bandit groups found in the service of the UAR and the USA.

The USSR maintains its solidarity with the countries of the socialist orientation, develops active friendly relations with them, and renders effective aid to them in solving a wide range of problems facing them--from combatting hunger to strengthening the defense capability necessary to repel imperialist aggression and protect the revolutionary conquests.

The Soviet Union ascribes exceptionally important significance to the movement of nonalignment, in which over 100 world countries are today participating. Generally these are the developing countries, with a population of 1.5 billion people. "The CPSU has an understanding attitude toward the goals and activity of the nonalignment movement and speaks out in favor of increasing its role in world politics," states the outline of the new edition of the CPSU Program. "The USSR will continue to be on the side of the nonaligned states in their struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism and for overcoming any disputes and conflicts which might arise through negotiations. It will speak out against involving these states in any military-political groupings."

The 7th Conference of Nonaligned Countries held in New Delhi (March 1983) justified the hopes of those who speak out in favor of retaining the dedication of the movement to its basic principles. The summary documents of the New Delhi forum demonstrated the adherence of most of the participating countries to the cause of peace and cooperation on an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-militaristic basis. And this is the key to further increasing the role of the nonalignment movement in world politics.

The meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the nonaligned countries held in Luanda (September 1985) has become an important step in the preparations for the next conference, which will be held in 1986 in Zimbabwe. The forum participants expressed their concern at the course taken by the West regarding the continuation of the arms race, and have sharply criticized the aggressive expansionist policy of Israel implemented with the active support of the USA. They have also criticized the destructive approach of Washington in regard to the acute problems in south Africa.

On these and numerous other vital international questions, the positions of the Soviet Union and the nonalignment movement coincide or are quite similar. Unlike the imperialist powers, the USSR positively evaluates the nonalignment movement and views it as an important factor in international politics and an important source in the unity of peace-loving powers.

At the same time, we cannot ignore the fact that the movement includes states which differ in their class nature and political orientation. The processes of strengthening class differentiation which are characteristic today for the developing world as a whole are naturally reflected in the relationship of powers within this movement. The imperialist circles have a negative effect on it, striving to disunite the nonaligned countries even more. They make clear attempts to erect artificial barriers between the socialist alliance and the nonalignment movement and to hinder their efforts in the struggle for a better future for their peoples.

Under current international conditions, which are darkened by the militaristic course of the USA, the need for coordinating the actions of all peace-loving movements and forces is felt more acutely than ever before. In recent times, considerable positive experience has been accumulated in the joint announcements within the framework of the UN and other international organizations by the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the nonaligned countries on the other.

Primarily, thanks to their efforts, the UN General Assembly has in recent years adopted such important documents as the Declaration on the Rights of Peoples to Peace, the resolution on "Preventing the Arms Race in Space", and others.

The Soviet Union has developed and is successfully continuing mutually beneficial and equal-righted cooperation in various spheres--political, economic and cultural--with the overwhelming majority of the nonaligned states. An example of such cooperation may be the relations with India. They are distinguished by a high degree of trust and mutual understanding. The energetic appeals of both countries in favor of easing international tensions have a favorable effect on the situation in Asia and in the world as a whole. The multi-faceted economic aid on the part of the USSR in the sphere of heavy industry, the fuel-energy and other sectors of India's national economy has greatly helped this country achieve significant successes.

The development of broad trade-economic ties between the USSR and the liberated countries is taking on particular importance for the latter in the face of serious difficulties which they encounter in solving the problems of overcoming their backwardness.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist alliance take a position which answers the interests of the developing countries. They use their international authority for supporting the constructive proposals introduced for discussion by the General Assembly, UNCTAD [United Nations Conference of Trade and Development], ECOSOS [United Nations Economic and Social Council], and other organs of the U.N. The program for revitalizing international economic relations presented in 1984 at the Moscow High Level Economic Conference of the CEMA Member States coincides in many ways with the approach of the developing countries.

The question of giving practical aid to peoples who have liberated themselves from colonialism and strengthening their national economy is constantly at the center of attention of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The outline of the Basic Directions for Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period to the Year 2000 evoked great interest abroad, including also in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The accelerated economic progress of the USSR, the leader of the socialist alliance, has important significance for the developing countries from the standpoint of further change in the global interrelation of world powers in favor of socialism, social progress and national revival, as well as from the standpoint of the prospects for expanding the foreign economic ties of the Soviet Union. The stable and dynamic cooperation of the socialist and developing states strengthens the positions of the latter in world trade and in the international division of labor, and forces the western monopolies to make certain concessions and compromises in regard to the former colonies.

\* \* \*

The first half of the 80's was marked by a notable activization in the efforts of imperialist powers, primarily the USA, to restore their ruling positions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to prevent the progressive changes taking place there, and to deny the people the right to independent development and the right to be masters of their own fate which they had won in their long anti-colonial struggle. Under the fabricated guise of the "struggle against the global threat of communism," under the false slogans of spreading the principles of "democracy", Washington came forth with a wide-scale program of exporting counterrevolution. The politics of dictate, threats, gross intervention, and direct aggression--this is how it appears in practice. Washington has promoted terrorism to the rank of state policy in regard to the developing countries, primarily those who have embarked upon the path of progressive social transformation and continued anti-imperialism.

The most important factor in the liberated people's withstanding the onslaught of imperialism is their counting on the support of world socialism, and primarily the Soviet Union. This support is multi-faceted. It ranges from political actions, and particularly within the framework of the U.N., directed at suppressing imperialist plots, provocation and aggression, to rendering material aid, including military. This clearly demonstrates the internationalist character of Soviet foreign policy.

In recent years, the struggle against the threat of a new war has become the sphere of strengthening interaction of world socialism with the liberated states. The growth of anti-war and anti-nuclear sentiments is becoming an ever more apparent phenomenon in the political life of the countries in the zone of the national-liberation movement. Millions of people are being drawn into the anti-war movement. It is ever more broadly encompassing the political and social circles of the developing states of socialist orientation, as well as those following a capitalist path.

\* \* \*

To win peace on earth is the key task of Leninist foreign policy. It defines the sense, character and directionality of the international activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The concept of ratifying a lasting peace on our planet has received integral expression in the outline of the new edition of the CPSU Program, which the 27th Party Congress will review and adopt. It is notable that on the eve of this historic event, the Soviet Union has spoken out with a series of major foreign policy initiatives, the essence of which is expressed in the Announcement of CPSU Central Committee Secretary General M. S. Gorbachev, and which has evoked great interest on the entire planet. This impressive document ties in the tasks of the struggle for disarmament with the interests of the developing countries and with the need for ridding them of their economic backwardness. It convincingly shows that the noose of the colossal debt which is today choking tens of countries is the direct result of the arms race. The Soviet approach to solving this problem embodies the high ideals of freedom and social progress, and corresponds to the interests of all the people on our planet.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1985 Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12322

CSO: 1807/221

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

INTERNAL COHESION, CONFLICTS OF ISLAM IN INDIA DISCUSSED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 86 pp 14-17

[Article by B. Klyuyev, doctor of historical sciences: "Islam in India"]

[Excerpts] In India, discussion is not subsiding around the problems of the "largest Indian minority"--the Muslim community. Certain state and community leaders believe that Islam has been ensured favorable prospects for existing in Indian society. However, there are other points of view as well. One of the most active leaders of Hindu revival, Professor Balradzh Madkhok, for example, wrote: "Islam is an orthodox religion of the 7th century, and it remains a foreign element in India."

The problems of the Muslim community, particularly in the sphere of its inter-relations with other communities, and being a significant part of the entire complex of communalist contradictions, are complex and peculiar in their acute nature. It is enough to say that, according to the Ministry of Home Affairs of India, in 1982 there were 474 community conflicts, and in 1983 there were 404. These occurred primarily between Hindus and Muslims. Such incidents occur more often than once a day. It is for this reason that President of India Zail Zingh, in his address to the nation on the occasion of the Republic Day in 1985, called the religious-community differences the greatest threat to the country's unity.

According to the 1971 census, there are 61.5 million Muslims in India, which comprises 11.2 percent of the country's population. The census data for 1981 on religions have not been published, but the preliminary evaluations indicate a figure of 80 million people. Thus, the Muslim population of India is the third largest in the world after Indonesia and Bangladesh.

There is a point of view according to which the Indian followers of Islam are viewed as a compact and internally cohesive community. Its adherents, and primarily the proponents of the so-called "theory of two nations"--the Hindus and the Muslims--tried to provide an ideological substantiation to the demands for separating regions of British India with a Muslim majority into the independent state of Pakistan. The events of 1971, which led to the formation of Bangladesh in place of the former East Pakistan, dealt a severe blow to this theory.

In a significantly transformed view, this viewpoint is retained in Indian scientific and political thought. "Despite the numerous internal differences," writes I. A. Khan, history professor at Aligarh Muslim University, "Indian Muslims form a separate community from the others...We must admit that one of the most effective factors uniting the various Islam professing groups within the framework of a single community is the definite sum of common religious beliefs and rituals and, finally, cognitive and emotionally deep self-identification."

This typical expression also touches upon the internal differences as well as the unifying factors. The task, consequently, is reduced to evaluating the real significance of these factors.

The most apparent factor is the non-uniform distribution of Muslims throughout the territory of India. Half of them live in three states--Uttar-Pradesh, West Bengal, and Bihar. Yet in these states they comprise a minority of the population and, moreover, are also settled here non-uniformly. In some districts their relative share may exceed 50 percent, while in others it may drop to 3-7 percent. A similar situation exists also in Assam and Kerala.

There are also regions with a Muslim majority in India. These are the Lakshadweep Islands and Minicoy Island (94.4 percent), the state of Jammu and Kashmir (65.8 percent). In the Kashmir valley their relative share fluctuates from 89 to 96 percent, while in Jammu it drops to 8 percent. At the same time, only 5 percent of all Indian Muslims live in these two regions.

With the exception of the Kashmir valley, India has no more or less large region by area or population numbers where the Muslims would comprise a compact majority. The Muslim population is interspersed into various ethnolinguistic communities and comprises an integral part of them. The association between these groups on a mass level is extremely limited, particularly due to the low geographic mobility of the peasantry.

"By language, culture, way of life, as well as by socio-economic indicators, Indian Muslims are just as different as the more numerous Hindus. The Muslim from Uttar-Pradesh and Mopla, the Muslim from Kerala or the Muslim from Kashmir and Murshidabad (West Bengal) have very little in common," concludes the Muslim author. "Contrary to popular opinion, Muslims do not comprise a compact group in India. From Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Assam to Kach Peninsula, Indian Muslims differ just as do the other groups of Indian society," writes the leader of the reformist movement in the Muslim sect of Daudi Bohra (Shiites of Islamic direction), Asgar Ali Indjinir.

J. Nehru also noted the ethnic differences among the Muslims: "The Bengali Muslim is much closer to the Hindu from Bengal than he is to the Muslim from Punjab. The same is true also in the other provinces. If Hindus and Muslims from Bengal meet somewhere, in India or in other countries, they immediately gather together and find a common language. Punjab residents, be they Muslims, Hindus or Sikhs, act the same."<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Nehru. "Otkrytiye Indii" [Discovery of India], M., 1955, p 358-359.



However, the primary split in the Muslim community is between the Sunnites and the Shiites. The tensions between them regularly result in conflicts primarily during muharrama (the days of mourning for Imam Houssein), which are marked by the Shiites in a particularly stormy manner. In the cities of Northern India there is observed a tendency to confine the Shiites and Sunnites within the boundaries of their residential quarters. The prolonged conflict between representatives of these two doctrines regarding the ownership of the burial grounds in Benares required the intervention of the Supreme Court of India, but even this organ of authority was not able to achieve order. The differences of opinion find reflection also in the sphere of politics, where the voters of various doctrines in one sector vote for candidates of rival parties.

Data of sociological studies in various regions of India testify to the coincidence of real problems and interests of groups of Indian society which are similar in their socio-economic position but different in their religious affiliation. Not one religious community, including the Muslims, has been able to protect on a confessional bases any significant portion of its members against such social evils as exploitation, unemployment, growth of prices, or poverty. The egalitarian concept of Islam also remains a largely unattainable ideal.

Efforts are being made in current Indian society to solve social problems by means of changing religions, and here the social limits of the community approach become most particularly apparent. This act, which requires a definite decisiveness in an atmosphere of supremacy of religious feelings, is undoubtedly a form of social protest, and generally the most oppressed strata, the former untouchable Haridjans, resort to it.

The regional, ethnic, social, and doctrinal division of the Muslim community in India is reflected in the presence of a multitude of parties and organizations. As a rule, the leaders of each of these groups express their pretenses at representing the interests of the entire community. At the same time, There are many functioning organizations which are purely regional--the Muslim madjlis in Uttar-Pradesh, "Andjuman Islamiya" in Punjab, "Avami tanzim" in Bihar, the Muslim block in Madhya Pradesh, "Madjlis-e-ittehad-ul-muslimin" (MIM) in Andhar, etc.

The largest community party, the Muslim League, practically ceased its existence in India after 1947. Only its local organizations remain in the southern part of the country, in Kerala and Tamilnad, where in time they were included in the active political life and played a notable role in the states. In 1970, the re-creation of this party was announced within the scope of the entire country under the name of the Indian Union Muslim League. Its secretary general announced that henceforth the League "is the sole representative organization of Muslims in India."

By its methods of activity, the League in no way differs from the other political parties of community orientation (religious propaganda, inculcating in Muslims the thesis of their peculiar interests, the race for votes and seats on the legislative organs). Like the other parties of non-communist opposition, the League experienced the effect of the process of polarization of political forces which exacerbated the factional struggle. Personal rivalry and differences

regarding partnerships in pre-election combinations have also played their role. For this reason there was a schism which took place in the League in 1975, as a result of which yet another party arose--the All-Indian Muslim League. In 1977, another group of leaders, emerging from the party, formed the National League.

The differences between the leagues are difficult to discern, since they are reduced primarily to a re-positioning of the emphasis placed on similar programs. Among the main slogans there is inevitably the demand to declare Urdu to be the second language in a number of the northern states and Andhra, on the basis that, according to the convictions of these organizations, Urdu is the symbol of culture and way of life of the Indian Muslims. At the same time, the 1971 census data indicate that around 30 million people claimed Urdu to be their native language, or only 50 percent of the overall number of Muslims.

Furthermore, periodic campaigns are waged under the slogans of retaining for the Aligarh Muslim University the status of the educational institution of the minority community. This is in reference to retaining the word "Muslim" in the name, and giving the administration the right to determine the religious make-up of the student body and to select the disciplines in the study programs. In essence, however, the struggle is being waged against secularization of these programs and for the retention of the university as the training ground for educated cadres for the community parties and organizations.

Considerable attention is given to the struggle against efforts at introducing in the country a unified civil law on a secular basis and for the retention of the untouchability of Muslim private law, whose application helps to preserve the influence of the clergy and its control over the daily life of the Muslim masses.

Evidently, the demands of the community leaders to introduce the principle of proportional representation of Muslims in the legislative organs and state institutions attracts the most attention. The frequently published data on the insufficient representation of Muslims is propagandized as proof of discrimination against the community on the part of the majority, i.e., the Hindus. The struggle against overcoming this "discrimination" is viewed as the main motive for the existence and activity of the Muslim parties.

The character of the demands listed above testifies to the fact that they are addressed to the urban central strata, which comprise the main support for the community organizations. The peasantry, and until recently the lower urban classes, were not drawn into the sphere of community politics. One of the efforts to mobilize this reserve was the demand by the League to proclaim all Muslims to be a "backward class" and to grant them the rights and privileges granted by the constitution of India. However, this action turned out to be impossible to implement, but also tardy, since the organizations created by social indication, as for example the All-Indian Federation of Muslim Backward Classes, which unifies a significant number of low-status caste-biradari, are becoming ever more active in politics.

A new phenomenon has been the efforts at organizing the Muslim urban lower classes. In August of 1984, a certain Khadzhi Mastan, a "confessed contrabandist", as he is called, who has great influence among the Lyumpen-Muslims of Bombay, announced the creation of an organization for the protection of the poorest strata of Muslims and Neobuddhist Dalites. This organization was called "Dalit-muslim surakshan mahasangh". At the election to the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly, it acted as an independent party in the block with two or the three Leagues. Its emergence exacerbated the community differences in the state, since "Mahasangh" became the enemy of the Hindu pogrom organization "Shiv sena". Their rivalry expands the sphere of community differences through secular political life.

The struggle for the Muslim middle strata gave the impetus to the development of two processes which are far from completion. On the one hand, the number of parties and organizations pretending to represent the interests of the entire community is multiplying. On the other--means are being sought out for unifying the forces of the community leaders. As early as 1964, several Muslim organizations in the north of India created the Muslim Consultative Council--a kind of supra-party organ without a unified program or charter, which in no way limited the independence of its partners.

Instead of expanding the make-up of the Council and turning it into a universal organ, alternative organizations appeared. At the end of 1970, at the All-Indian Muslim Political Conference held in New Delhi, the All-Indian Muslim Consultative Committee was founded (in addition to the council already mentioned). But already a month later, a group of leaders left it and created its own Muslim Council.

Both processes do not exclude each other, since they are oriented toward a single task--creating so-called "voice banks" of the Muslims, which are seclued in the community parties. Moreover, they do not go beyond the framework of Islamization--the fanning of religious sentiments by various means and their widespread application for achieving political goals.

Resistance arises between the religious-community politics and the continual secular approach to solving the problems facing present-day India. Indian political scientists have noted that the community parties are able to achieve the support of the Muslims primarily in those regions where they comprise an insignificant portion of the population and are most subject to the influence of the psychology of the minority and corresponding propaganda. In regions where the relative share of Muslims is high, they give their votes primarily to the secular parties.

In Indian political usage, there is a widespread thesis which states that a radical improvement in the community climate is possible if the Muslims join with the "mainstream" of the country's social and political life. The problem, however, is the basis on which such a "joining" or overcoming of the socio-psychological attitudes of seclusion and alienation can occur. The experience of the development of independent India testifies to the fact that the politics of secularism, which is understood as an equally protective attitude toward all religions and communities, still remains an

ineffective means of achieving this goal. A more promising approach seems to be the politics of continued democratism, which does not contain any religious overtones, and the exclusion of religion from the sphere of politics. It is this that the democratic forces in India insist upon.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya". 1985 Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12322

CS0: 1807/221

### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### LEBANESE EMIGRES' ACTIVITIES ABROAD, HOMELAND'S FATE NOTED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 86 pp 20-22

[Article by S. Maksimov (Beirut-Moscow): "Where Do the Lebanese Live?"]

[Excerpts] Having guessed this to be a trick question, the reader is tempted to be in no great hurry to give the obvious answer: "In Lebanon, where else?" And he is correct in doing so.

As it turns out, today most Lebanese, or more precisely, emigres from Lebanon--approximately 4.5-5.5 million people--are scattered throughout the world, while only 2.5-2.6 million people live in the country itself. It is true that these figures are rather approximate. For a number of reason, no census has been taken in Lebanon since 1932. The military-political crisis of the last decade has scattered hundreds of thousands of people in different directions, not to mention the fact that it has overturned all demographic predictions. And it is also hard to count the emigres. Some have long ago lost their previous citizenship. Others (there were around 2.8 million of them in 1980) have dual passports--Lebanese and their country of residence. It is clear only that there are fewer Lebanese living in their homeland than beyond its borders. It is no wonder that the official name of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Lebanese Republic also has the added words "and on affairs of Lebanese living abroad".

#### TEN YEARS LATER

In 1973-1974 there was a sharp increase in the price of crude oil. The profits of the oil exporters, particularly in the Persian Gulf countries, rose at a rapid rate. The ambitious plans for modernization of the Arab monarchies were replaced by other even more ambitious plans even before they had time to be realized. The oil kingdoms, who had fallen behind in their economic development, desperately needed people who were acquainted with current western technology and with the local conditions. The demand give rise to supply. "Oil dollar fever" took hold of the compatriots of those who a hundred years before had gone to seek their fortune in far-off lands. Now Eldorado was at hand. The flow of Lebanese emigres to the Persian Gulf countries steadily increased: in 1970 there were 10,000, in 1975--53,000, and in the early 80's--125,000 people annually. Over half of them settled in Saudi Arabia. The others stayed in Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, etc.

The emigration was urged forward by the civil war, which broke out in 1975, quieted down in 1976, and then grew into a military-political crisis which was very complex by its nature and dramatic in its form, and is continuing to the present day. In a random survey conducted among Lebanese immigrants in the Gulf countries, 53 percent of those questioned stated directly that they came here for the high wages, and 30 percent added that they lost their jobs in their homeland due to war and devastation. In the last decade, over 900,000 people have left the country. Of these, 400,000 returned at various times, and half a million remained abroad, primarily in the oil producing Arab states.

And yet, the current emigration does not resemble the exodus from Lebanon in the 19th Century. The emigrants of that day had a thin wallet, a knapsack, and the inexhaustable Lebanese enterprising nature. The present-day emigrants have engineering diplomas obtained in the West or in Beirut VUZes, certificates of technical training, and a knowledge of English and French. The Lebanese have adapted well on the banks of the Gulf. In essence, they again play the role of mediators, but already in the epoch of the scientific-technical revolution. To the West they are Arabs who understand complex technology and who know how to manage production. The rich, but for the most part little educated, rulers of the Arab desert see in the Lebanese their blood brothers capable of withstanding the mercenary interests of the western companies, contractors and banks. Over half of the Lebanese working in the Gulf zone are among the engineering-technical personnel of private companies, and around one-fourth have been able to start their own businesses.

There are also those who have been received at court in the full sense of the word, as for example Rafik Khariri. An emigre from south Lebanon, he began his career in Saudi Arabia in the department of public works. In time he became friendly with those of princely blood, acquired the local branch of the French firm "Ozhe", and developed such rapid growth in activity that he soon swallowed up the "mother" company. It is believed that today he is "worth" from 600 to 900 million dollars. R. Khariri turned part of his wealth, so to speak, into political capital. In his homeland he acquired notoriety by the fact that he helped the authorities clear the ruins of Beirut after the Israeli aggression of 1982. Acting as a Saudi mediator, he expended considerable effort at regulating the Lebanese crisis in 1983-1984. During the most tense moments, his private plane would shuttle back and forth from Beirut to Er-Riyad. But alas, in the diplomatic sphere R. Khariri's achievements are much more humble than in business.

While the holders of engineering diplomas in the past decade turned most often to the Gulf, the managers of Lebanese banks, chasing after the "oil dollars" which were slipping away from the troubled Beirut, set their course for Paris. In 1975 there was only one branch of a Lebanese bank in the French capital. Today there are around 20 banks operating there with the participation of Lebanese capital. Moreover, Lebanese are represented on the boards of directors of 15 other Arab credit-finance institutions based in Paris. At first the French bankers did not take them seriously, but subsequently recognized the professionalism and dynamic nature of their competitors.

The Lebanese have also entered the world of the Paris press with self-assurance. In the turbulent and crisis-ridden times, the publications of a number of leading journals moved from Beirut to the French and certain other west-European capitals. Every week, these publications are circulated to all the ends of the earth, primarily to the Arab countries.<sup>1</sup> The Lebanese "mezza" (types of snacks) have appeared in many small restaurants and cafes. Their names--"Baalbek," "Biblom," "Zakhle," "At the Cedars of Lebanon" -- are both a direct indication of the owner's nationality, and a longing for the homeland and hope for a better future. The Lebanese surprised Paris, which is surprised at nothing, with their enthusiasm for organizing various exhibits and artistic salons. There were around 40 opening days in 1983 alone!

The high activity of the current Lebanese emigration in France has even given the illusion of an "attack of Lebanese on Paris." However, their colony, which has tripled in number in the last 10 years, is no more than 15,000 people.

Lebanon has not only lost half a million people. It has lost the most well-trained and active part of its human potential. For a country which has not been blessed with any significant natural riches, golden hands and clear minds are a unique "production resource". Yet during the crisis period, it lost 55 percent of its doctors, 48 percent of its building engineers, 45 percent of its jurists, and 70 percent of its diploma-holding specialists working in industry.

And what has the country received in return? A massive flow of monetary drafts from the emigres to their relatives. It is these drafts, which reached up to two-fifths of the country's national income, that kept the Lebanese economy and currency afloat for a long time. They allowed Lebanon to have a positive balance of payments until 1983, and its residents--to spend money with the assurance that they would get more from abroad.

However, as soon as the oil situation worsened, the proceeds from the emigrants were sharply curtailed. The balance of payments deficit began to grow catastrophically, and in 1984 it reached unheard-of proportions--around 1.4 billion dollars. The hopes of those in the Lebanese administration who believed that the emigrants, having accumulated a round sum, would return home and pour dollar blood into investment and other local projects, were also unjustified. The poor stream of bank drafts dried up entirely. People are afraid to keep money in a house which is engulfed in the flame of armed conflict. In the best case, they dare to invest modest means into a small family business, a trade point, or something along these lines.

The house in which I lived was the most ordinary Beirut building. Its inhabitants were also ordinary people, and therefore their fates are typical. Practically from every family someone--the father or son, the brother or sister, the uncle or nephew--have gone to a foreign country.

<sup>1</sup> For more details, cf: S. Maksimov, "Mass Media in Lebanese" AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1985, No 11.

"It is a sin to complain," the mother of a respectable family confided her worries to me. "The children, Allah be praised, have received a higher education. Two of them are construction engineers, and the third is a doctor. They live in the Gulf countries and help me to raise the four younger ones. But I am already beginning to forget their faces--we see each other so rarely. You can evaluate material well-being with a checkbook, but how can you measure the grief of separation?"

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1985 Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12322

CSO: 1807/221



THIRD WORLD ISSUES

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSES SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 86 pp 24-30

[Roundtable discussion sponsored by the Soviet Committee for Solidarity of the Countries of Asia and Africa: "South Africa: The Hour of Liberation is Approaching"]

[Text] At the initiative of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity of Countries of Asia and Africa (SKSSAA), the Novosti Press Agency, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, leading Soviet public figures, scientists, journalists, and representatives of the clergy gathered at the "roundtable" to discuss the topic of "The Current Stage in the Struggle in South Africa and the International Solidarity Movement."

Speaking at this meeting, which was conducted by SKSSAA Deputy Chairman, Africa Institute Director and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member An. A. Gromyko, were B. R. Asoyan, international journalist and candidate in historical sciences; Yu. V. Bromley, director of the Institute of Ethnography imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklay and USSR Academy of Sciences academician; M. P. Vyshinskiy, USSR Deputy Minister of Justice and member of the International Commission on Investigating Crimes under the Regime of Racism and Apartheid in South Africa; V. Ye. Mozhayev, chief of the international department of AUCCTU; V. G. Solodovnikov, SKSSAA deputy chairman and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member; Minsk and Belorussian Metropolitan Filaret, chairman of the Department of Foreign Church Relations, Moscow patriarchy; K. A. Khachaturov, Novosti Press Agency board of governors deputy chairman, member of the Presidium, SKSSAA; V. M. Chkhikvadze, sector chief, USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, and V. G. Shubin, SKSSAA member and candidate in historical sciences.

An. GROMYKO:

The process of decolonialization of Africa has not been completed. A racist regime of apartheid is retained in the southern part of the continent, which the U.N. correctly equates to colonialism. A great majority of the population

in the so-called Republic of South Africa and Namibia, which it unlawfully occupies, suffer from most severe racial and social repression and are denied their elementary human rights.

The aggressive nature of this regime, which poses a threat to all independent Africa and to general peace and security, is manifested in its continuous armed and other hostile actions against its neighbor countries--Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and others.

The racist state enjoys the patronage and support of international imperialism, without which it would already have long ago ceased to exist. Thousands of companies in Great Britain, the USA, France, and the FRG who have made multi-billion dollar investments into the important sectors of the South African economy obtain huge profits at the expense of the monstrous exploitation of African labor.

In recent times, the crisis of the apartheid regime has become sharply exacerbated. New detachments of patriots are entering the national-liberation struggle, which does not subside for even one day, but continues to grow despite the bloody repression of the authorities. The scope of this struggle testifies to the fact that most of the country's population does not want to continue to life in the old manner, and has fully resolved to put an end to apartheid. The strike resistance is becoming more widespread, and often encompasses entire regions or sectors of industry.

The unprecedented fervor of anti-racist demonstrations on one hand and the increased criticism of the racist regime at international forums on the other forces the rulers of the Republic of South Africa to resort to political maneuvering along with terror. The purpose of this maneuvering is to confuse the world community and to split the movement of the oppressed majority. For example, on 1 October 1985, South African President P. Botha announced at the conference of the ruling Nationalist Party in Capetown Province that his cabinet strives to replace apartheid with "coexistence and cooperation" of the racial groups. However, an analysis of the program of "reforms" which he presented shows that the essence of the present system will remain unchanged. As before, Africans will be categorically denied membership in parliament. Bantustans--ethnic reservations for blacks--will be preserved, as will be discriminatory laws on separate living and education of members of different races. We will not even speak of elections according to the principle of "one man--one vote".

The maneuvers do not help. Radical shifts in the thinking of the oppressed people inevitably lead to their increased militancy, and to a quantitative and qualitative growth in the army of fighters for total elimination of the apartheid regime and for the establishment of a democratic order in the country. In the much-oppressed Namibia, patriots under the leadership of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) are dealing mighty blows to the occupation forces. The Namibian people reject the pseudo-independence which Pretoria is trying to force upon them with the aid of collaborationist elements, and demand the unconditional fulfillment of the U.N. decisions on Namibia, including Resolution 435 of the Security Council so blatantly ignored by the racists with the direct support of the USA and other NATO countries.

The racist regime is in a critical position. There can be no doubt that it is doomed. The patriots will not cease their struggle until they bring it to a victorious end.

I have tried to present only a topical outline of the basic directions of the forthcoming discussion...

Kh. KHACHATUROV:

In truth, Anatoliy Andreyevich, the "roundtable" presupposes a discussion, a clash of viewpoints for seeking the scientific truth. However, in this case it only conditionally be called round--both by its physical form, we might say, and by the essence of the discussion which will take place at it. We are all of the same opinion regarding the problem of liquidating racism and apartheid. I believe that the task for each of us is to illuminate certain aspects and characteristics of this problem in order to facilitate its solution, primarily in an informational plane.

An. GROMYKO:

I agree with this clarification, Karen Armenovich. Evidently, we should begin with the economic bases of the system of apartheid and the struggle of the African working class against it. Vsevolod Yevgen'yevich, the floor is yours.

V. MOZHAYEV: "THE BLACK GIANT GETS TO HIS FEET"

Although at present apartheid appears to the entire world primarily as a system of blatant political tyranny, one of its most important goals is to provide the capitalist economy of the Republic of South Africa with cheap black labor. Often working 12-14 hours a day, the Africans, who compose two-thirds of the work force, receive only one-fourth or one-fifth the remuneration of whites who have the same level of training. The working conditions of the miners are particularly intolerable. According to the data of the professional unions, many mines in South Africa are reminiscent of the English mines of the 19th Century. In the last decade, over 8,000 miners have died as a result of accidents, and 230,000 were victims of industrial injury. In the case of insubordination, a black is immediately dismissed from his job.

The super-exploitation of the Africans made it possible for the business owners to realize an average profit of over 20 percent from the early 60's up until the present time. This is compared with 14 percent in the developing countries and 4 percent in the developed capitalist states.

It is not surprising, therefore, that there are roughly 2,000 foreign companies operating in South Africa (including several tens of TNC [trans-national corporations] which have invested 30 billion dollars here. Half of this sum is accounted for by American companies. The investments fully pay for themselves every 5-6 years. Thus, the "touching concern" of the western powers for the apartheid regime is far from lacking in self-interest. Aside from greed, imperialists are motivated by the desire to obtain valuable strategic

raw materials. For example, no less than 7 kilograms of chromium is needed for the production of the American F-15 fighter. The lion's share of this material outside the borders of the socialist world is obtained in the Republic of South Africa.

The reconstruction of industry which began in the 70's, the changeover of the commodity sector of agriculture to an industrial basis, as well as the economic decline in recent times have sharply exacerbated the grievous situation of the country's black workers. Unemployment among them has risen from a million people in the 60's to 3 million at the present time. The "excess" people are forced into bantustans, where hopeless poverty reigns. On the whole, the Africans, who comprise approximately three-fourths of the South African population, receive less than 20 percent of the national income.

However, those "marked by the curse" did not reconcile themselves to their fate. Recent years have been marked by a rapid development of "black" trade unions, which have managed to become a powerful force. More and more often they are moving from a purely economic struggle to a political one. A clear manifestation of this tendency is their participation in the anti-racist United Democratic Front (UDF), which includes around 700 legal and illegal parties and organizations of various racial groups--enemies of apartheid. As we have already noted, the strike movement is growing at an uncontrollable rate.

We believe that solidarity with the patriots of South Africa is a duty of the trade unions of the entire world, regardless of their national affiliation or the ideological and religious orientation of their members. Soviet trade unions participate widely in this international campaign. The representatives of the AUCCTU have played a constructive role in the development and adoption in 1981 of the reworked text of the Declaration of the International Organization of Labor (IOL) on the policy of apartheid in South Africa. They are actively working on the Committee on Apartheid at the annual IOL general conferences and have participated in conducting four international trade union conferences timed to coincide with them, as well as the International Trade Union Conference on Solidarity with the Workers and Peoples of South Africa, which was convened in May of 1984 in Harar by the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the Organization of African Trade Union Unity. The 34th session of the Buro and the 37th session of the WFTU General Council (of which AUCCTU is a member) held on 1-4 October 1985 in Moscow adopted a resolution which stated that "the world trade union movement must mobilize its efforts to immediately end apartheid in South Africa".

Within the framework of international solidarity, we give particular significance to the rendering of moral support and all-around aid, particularly in the training of trade union personnel and in strengthening the material base, to the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)--the country's progressive multi-racial trade union center, which marked its 30th anniversary in 1985.

No matter how difficult the struggle against apartheid, if the mass of workers rise up to it, they will be victorious.

V. SHUBIN:

Pieter Botha announced that the regime has not yet utilized all its capacities for suppressing the strikes and other protest actions. Well, yes, the tanks have not yet been put into action, nor the air force. Yet the people too have not utilized all their capacities, and they have more of them than do the authorities.

For example, in certain regions where mass boycotts of stores were held. Their white owners were immediately bankrupted, literally within days. Here is another example: in August of 1985 the mine workers planned to hold another major strike. They were only planning. Yet most of the companies immediately made economic concessions in order to keep the situation from growing into a political strike. I will add that in the first 6 months of last year there were over 100 strikes, despite the repression and despite the fact that even assemblies and meetings of strike committees are now subject to criminal punishment.

Mass demonstrations are taking on an ever more organized character. Although the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, which heads the struggle against apartheid, is banned, the residents of the African villages have in fact "legalized" it. The banners and slogans of the ANC have openly appeared at meetings, which take place despite the repression. The ANC national conference held in June of 1985 reached the conclusion that it is impossible to negotiate with the Pretoria authorities on the conditions which they set, and that the armed struggle must be intensified. Detachments of the militarized wing of the ANC "Umkonto we sizwe" ("Spear of the Nation") are undertaking successful operations against the army and police posts and economic facilities of the regime. The United Democratic Front is playing a huge role. After declaration of a state of emergency, over 6,000 of its activists have been arrested. However, it has not been left leaderless and continues to unite the people. In essence, the so-called "constitutional reform" of P. Botha has failed. The "coloreds" and indians boycotted the farce of elections to "their" houses of parliament. Of the 34 local "councils" created in 1983-1984 in the African suburbs and regions, by May of 1985 30 of them were inactive--the population does not recognize them.

All this is taking place on a background of an economic decline, the longest in the country's history, and is intensifying it even more. The Western monopolies, seeing that the profits are already not so high as before and experiencing public pressure in their own countries to cease all ties with South Africa, are beginning to withdraw their capital. There are cases where South African companies prefer to invest their assets abroad instead of at home.

The meeting of a group of South African businessmen with ANC President O. Tambo and other leaders of this organization was rather symptomatic. Those who are now in power, at least in economic authority in South Africa, are forced to consider reality, to look at the future, to think ahead about how they should act when the democratic order comes to replace apartheid.

The resolution of the ANC national conference which I mentioned contains the very precise words: "The black giant is getting to his feet, tall and strong. He is breaking the chains which have bound him for centuries and stepping with assurance toward a new struggle. He is full of resolve to liberate not only himself, but also the whites, whose life has been distorted by the system of apartheid."

V. CHKHIKVADZYE: TO STOP THE EVIL DEEDS OF THE BLOODY REGIME!

You are absolutely correct, Vladimir Gennadiyevich. The events taking place today in the Republic of South Africa are not simply a regular outbreak of dissatisfaction, as some in Pretoria and Washington are trying to prove. Rather, it is a mass protest of the oppressed, which is growing into an uprising. In essence, the fall of the racist regime in South Africa has already begun, and it will stop at nothing to prolong its existence.

The customary definition of this regime--the segregation of representatives of different races which is understood under the concept of apartheid, the limitation and suppression of political, economic, civil and personal rights and freedoms of the black population--are today insufficient to characterize the entire complex of crimes committed by the authorities of the Republic of South Africa. The regime of apartheid is a symbiosis of extreme forms of discrimination and genocide, aggression and state terrorism, demogogy, lies and treachery.

The U.N. Charter, the Charter of the International Military Tribunal which 40 years ago tried the main Nazi war criminals in Nuremberg, the U.N. Declaration on eliminating all forms of racial discrimination, the International Convention on stopping the crimes of apartheid and punishments for it, as well as other international legal documents, allow us to legally qualify the actions of the current rulers of South Africa as a most serious crime against humanity and peace.

A direct responsibility of the democratic jurists is to expose also the anti-legal character of the "constitutional" and other reforms, with the aid of which the Pretoria regime endeavors to strengthen its position.

M. VYSHINSKIY:

But in judging, we must act--each and every one of us, to whom the ideals of peace and freedom of peoples are dear. We cannot wait. Every hour, every minute, blood is being spilled in South Africa. The regular army has been thrown in to support the police who are committing outrages in the streets of the cities and the African ghettos. Its soldiers, corrupted by self-conceit and arrogance of the representatives of the "master race" kill, kill and kill their countrymen simply because they have a different color skin and want to possess human and civil rights in their country. Not one of the neighboring states knows any peace. Bombs and shells fall on their territory and saboteurs are sent there. The people of Namibia suffer in colonial-racist captivity.

The apartheid regime would have fallen under the weight of its own crimes were it not for its co-participants. They are active, persistent, and have political influence and considerable material means at their disposal. We have already presented data on the investment monopolies in the Republic of South Africa--30 million dollars together with loans and credits, and we must assume that this figure is underestimated. And is it any secret that it is thanks to the economic, technical and scientific assistance of the United States and other western powers, as well as Israel, that South Africa has everything needed for the production of nuclear bombs and a full complement of conventional weapons? The USA and Great Britain, systematically abusing the power of the veto, have not once over a period of many years allowed the adoption of a resolution on the application of all-encompassing and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

V. CHKHIKVADZYE:

I cannot help but note, Mikhail Pavlovich, that the alliance of Washington with Pretoria is caused by the common nature not only of their economic and military-political interests, but also the social roots of racism in the Republic of South Africa and the USA. The Indian reservations are nothing other than a variant of the bantustans. In other words, not only is blatant racism practiced in the United States, but also very real apartheid. And in England too the racial problem is heating up, with the wildest excesses in regard to the emigrants from the countries of Asia and Africa.

M. VYSHINSKIY:

That is a fair addition, Viktor Mikhaylovich. The actions of the proponents of apartheid must be openly imputed as their sins in the face of the entire world community. Soviet jurists have called for an emergency meeting of the International Commission on Studying the Crimes of the Regime of Racism and Apartheid in South Africa, in order to comprehensively examine the facts of co-participation by the USA and other imperialist states in these crimes. Our call has not been heard. At a preliminary meeting in Berlin, the decision was made to call such a meeting in one of the countries of the South African region.

We understand that it will not be easy to find and prove all the threads tying together the instigators, organizers and executors of the criminal plot against the freedom of peoples in South Africa. Therefore, we call upon all people of good will and all participants in the national movements of Afro-Asian solidarity and against apartheid to include themselves in this work on a governmental, as well as on an extra-governmental level.

The input of the American movement of solidarity with the struggle of the South African people would be especially valuable. It is operating under difficult conditions. According to the WASHINGTON POST, since the beginning of the mass demonstrations on the capital's Massachusetts Avenue and around the South African embassy, the police arrested over 3,000 people. Nevertheless, the embassy remains under siege by the manifestants who demand an end to the shame of apartheid.

Action is needed everywhere. There is no other way. "That which is bad in its nature cannot be corrected by anything," said the ancient Roman jurists. Apartheid is not subject to democratization or liberalization. It is just as systematic and vice-ridden as the institutions of nazism and, like them, it must be destroyed. The machine of racist evil cannot stop of its own accord, despite all the criminal absurdity of its bloody work. South Africa today is called a leper in the community of states, and this is not simply a garish image. The entire country has been turned into a torture chamber. On the average, each of its residents spends 36 hours under arrest each year. The black population of South Africa, which comprises 1/157 of the planet's population, accounts for half of the capital punishments recorded in the world. The Western "protectors of human rights" should use their influence to speed up the liquidation of apartheid--the only possible radical "reform".

#### V. SOLODOVNIKOV:

The so-called "pre-front" states have also become victims of the racist crimes and objects of permanent aggression on the part of the South African military machine. Having raised to the rank of state policy terrorism not only against its own people, but also against neighboring countries, Pretoria is attempting to destabilize their domestic position, to force them to change their foreign policy course, and ultimately--to overthrow the governments currently in existence there and put puppet regimes in power which would surround the Republic of South Africa, this forward post of imperialism in the southern hemisphere, with a sort of buffer belt and tightly seal it off from free Africa.

To justify the latest--14th by actual count!--incursion into Angola which took place in September-October of 1985, which had for its purpose to save from final dessimation the anti-people's, bandit grouping of the UNITA, the leaders of the Republic of South Africa, and president P. Botha personally, began to spread false fabrications regarding the supposed presence of Soviet forces there. This "rumor" was readily snatched up in Washington--if it did not emanate from there in the first place. As we can see, the aggressive actions of the racists have consequences which reach far beyond the boundaries of the region, complicate the situation in the entire world, and make it even more volatile.

The struggle against apartheid and racism in the Republic of South Africa is an international problem. It requires intensification of solidarity with the democratic, national-liberation forces in South Africa itself, and primarily with the ANC and ODF, with SWAPO, and with the "pre-front" states. We believe that this solidarity must be evidenced not in words, but in deeds, by the political parties, the trade union, women's, youth and religious organizations of all countries, particularly those who still continue to support the trade-economic ties with Pretoria. There should be no contacts, a total and all-encompassing boycott! The time has come to pur racism in all its forms and manifestations outside the law, to banish it from the life of all civilized peoples, just as slavery was abolished. Let the 20th century go down in the history of mankind as the century of total liquidation not only of colonialism, but also of racism!



Kh. KHACHATUROV: THE FRUITS OF "CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION"

The actions about which you, Vasilii Grigoryevich, spoke, are especially necessary since the imperialist circles are intensifying the "psychological war" around the problems of South Africa and are trying to prove that the regime in the Republic of South Africa needs support because it is supposedly being liberalized and undergoing a certain "democratic renovation." It is enough to listen to the high-level representatives of official Washington.

In September of 1985, US Secretary of State G. Schultz announced: "I Believe that I evaluate the situation correctly if I say that economic progress in South Africa and the participation of blacks in it--and American companies are here in the forefront--has allowed them to acquire skills, to gain access to professional on-the-job training, to improve their qualifications and lay the groundwork for creating trade unions, which are now one of the potential spokesmen for the interests of the blacks." This is a frank curtsy in the direction of the criminal regime, which with the aid of the American corporations has supposedly done so much good for the black majority.

At the same time, President R. Reagan himself depicted the Republic of South Africa as some kind of model to be emulated. "In South Africa we are witness to the start of the process of change," he said. "Its society is not totalitarian. There is an active and persistent opposition press in this country. Every day we encounter examples of open protest and access to international means of information, which would be unthinkable in many parts of Africa or, say, in the Soviet Union." We need hardly comment on the statement portion of this announcement or on the comparison contained in it. It is characteristic that, speaking at the 40th session of the U.N. General Assembly, R. Reagan who, as we know, placed the emphasis on regional conflicts, did not say a word about the situation in the south of Africa--in one of world's hottest spots.

The Soviet organs of mass information demonstrate with good argumentation that it is primarily the USA which bears the direct responsibility for conserving the centers of colonialism and racism in Africa and grossly violate human rights and the rights of entire peoples. Every day, the press, information agencies, radio and television of the Soviet Union publish and broadcast materials exposing the policies of the Republic of South Africa and its Washington patrons and supporting solidarity with the righteous struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, and the "pre-front" states--the victims of imperialist aggression.

I believe Boris Rubenovich also has something to say on this matter.

B. ASOYAN:

Yes, literally a few words. What have 5 years of "constructive cooperation" of the USA with the Pretoria regime brought to the South African region?

Nambian regularization has been brought to a dead end. Despite the signing of agreements with Angola and Mozambique, agreements which western propaganda served up as an example of the "peace-loving nature" of the racists and their "readiness for dialogue," South Africa continues to occupy Angolan

territory and has not stopped its aid to the counterrevolutionary groupings in Mozambique. Pretoria soon grew tired of its forced role of "peacemaker," and, having waved the olive branch for the sake of propriety, it once again replaced it with the whip and machine gun. Of course, we cannot forget that the American Congress adopted the decision to renew military and financial support of UNITA. And not long before this, at the initiative of certain circles in the USA, representatives of the counterrevolutionary forces from various countries gathered in south Angola, in one of their hornet's nests devastated by South African mercenaries. President Reagan sent a message of greeting to the bandit's convention, stating literally: "Your goals are our goals." He did not simply greet the cut-throats, but once again confirmed his course toward intervention in the internal affairs of Angola and other sovereign states.

Within the Republic of South Africa, the "constructive cooperation" facilitated the further escalation of tensions and increasingly stern repressions. All of the concessions which Pretoria made for show, the repeal of certain symbols of apartheid or others, in no way constituted the fruits of the "constructive cooperation," counter to Washington's affirmations. These concessions were made only under the increasing blows of the liberation movement.

American policy not only did not lead to "peace and stability" in the south of Africa, as was initially promised, but on the contrary, exacerbated the situation even more. In the past 5 years, the loss inflicted on the independent countries of the region as a result of the agreement between Washington and Pretoria exceeded 10 billion dollars. This is much greater than the sum of the foreign aid received by the states who were victims of racist aggression.

The fact that "constructive cooperation" in its official-propagandist version has suffered total failure is clear to all. However, the US administration does not intend to reject this course of action, which is directed at saving the regime of the racist minority.

An. GROMYKO: The Honorable Metropolitan Filaret has the floor.

METROPOLITAN FILARET: THE ANTI-CHRISTIAN ESSENCE OF APARTHEID

New reports of the tragic events in South Africa continue to circulate throughout the world. Under these conditions, the testimony of the Christian Churches, organizations and Christians throughout the world takes on important significance. This is the testimony against the shameful system of apartheid, against the blasphemous affirmations of the white oppressors that their deeds are aimed at preserving Christian civilization and ensuring the development and security of the white population.

The government of the Republic of South Africa believes that the policy of apartheid is Christian in essence and presents the only means for the joint life of the people, since it supposedly makes it possible to guard against foreign influence and to retain the historical and cultural values of the race or people. But how can we speak of this from Christian standpoints when the New Testament clearly states that among the followers of Christ

there should be "neither the Hellin nor the Israelite, neither circumcision nor noncircumcision, neither barbarian, Scythian, slave, or free man, but everyone, and in everything Christ." To the question "Who is my fellow man?", the Lord answered with a parable about the Good Samaritan, which sounded like an unambiguous condemnation of any national enmity, any hatred and contempt for foreigners or heterodoxes.

Every people is worthy of salvation, having equal rights to all the worldly and heavenly blessings. The 2nd Century Christian writer Tertullian maintained that: "The soul descended from heaven not only for the Latins and Greeks. All peoples are one man, only the names differ; one soul, only the words differ; one spirit, only the sounds differ. Every people have their own language, the the essence of the language is common to all."

Thus, Christianity and racial discrimination are totally incompatible. Racism in any of its manifestations is counter to the Holy Writings and the teachings of the Church. It is counter to the main teaching of Christ--that of love for mankind.

Christian thought and conscience cannot and do not reconcile themselves with the infringement on the basic human rights, on which the racists and advocates of apartheid and segregation are encroaching. This is why Christians take the pain and suffering of the peoples of South Africa so close to their hearts. This is why they fervently support the inspired work of the South African Council of Churches, the Namibian Council of Churches, the All-African Conference of Churches, who under difficult conditions of constant persecution are striving to put an end to terror aimed at the black population by the Pretoria regime. They cannot accent the fact that among the lists of future victims of the "death squads" created after the example of Latin America, are such notable opponents of apartheid as the Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Bishop Dr. Desmond Tutu, and the leading advocate of love and justice, one of the organizers of the United Democratic Front, and President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Pastor Dr. Alan Busak.

The World Council of Churches (WCC), speaking out in the name of many Christian World Churches, repeatedly condemned racial discrimination. Thus, in the resolution adopted at the 2nd Assembly in 1954 in Evanston, it expressed the assurance that any form of segregation based on differences in skin color and nationality contradicts the Bible and is incompatible with Christian teachings about man. The Assembly called upon the Church to condemn and reject all forms of segregation and discrimination.

Based on the fact that apartheid places barriers in the way of a full life in Christ and rejects it, the WCC many years ago adopted the Program to Combat Racism, and is continuously implementing it. Among the priorities of this program we may indicate the following: the study of racism from the standpoint of theology and the publication of an extensive amount of theological literature of anti-racist directionality; the interconnection of racism and other forms of oppression; the study of the economic bases of racism; the arms race and its effect on the struggle of the racially oppressed; institutional racism as a reflection of social, economic, political, religious and military structures; land rights of the local peoples, etc.

an integral part of the Program is the Special Fund--a material expression of solidarity with the racially oppressed.

The WCC actively cooperates with the U.N. Committee Against Apartheid and other organizations and groups speaking out against racial discrimination.

The participants in the latest 6th Assembly of the WCC in Vancouver (1983) called with renewed force upon all the member churches to intensify their solidarity with the liberation movements which oppose apartheid and racism.

The Central Committee of the WCC, at its session held in August of 1985 in Buenos Aires, expressed the concern and hope of Christians and all people of good will regarding the fact of escalation of force and repression in the Republic of South Africa. It called upon the Church and Christians throughout the world to pray and act in support of the black population of South Africa in its struggle for liberation from the inhuman system of apartheid.

Another influential world Christian organization, the Christian World Conference (CWC), also from the very beginning of its existence clearly and unambiguously took a negative position regarding the barbaric crimes against humanity which hang over the African continent in the form of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

At the initiative of the CWC, every year the international Christian organizations, the member churches and the regional committees mark the last Sunday in May as Africa Sunday. The goal here is not only to bring to the consciousness of the faithful the grave sin of racism, but also to gather contributions for the purpose of meeting some of the most immediate needs of hundreds of thousands and millions of people who are forced to live in conditions unworthy of humans under the oppression of the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa.

The Christian World Conference calls upon all the churches in the western countries to withdraw its investments from the business organizations who trade with the Republic of South Africa, and speaks out in favor of generally withdrawing all foreign investments from this country.

The CWC is holding meetings of its Commission on Antiracism in various parts of the world. A considerable portion of its work consists of efforts to develop theological bases for the struggle against racism. Considering it a duty to express the testimony of the Church through concrete action, the CWC gives financial support to the liberation movements and churches in southern Africa who speak out against racism and helps them with food products, clothing, medicines, etc. This aid also includes permanent solidarity with the fate of thousands of people in South Africa who have been condemned to spend their lives in prisons and exiles, undergoing torture and inhuman cruelty.

The Christian World Conference condemns racial discrimination not only as a crime in itself, but also as a source of danger to international security and world peace. The struggle to overcome racism is inseparably linked with the struggle to ensure peace, as well as with the building of a new world in which there will be no more room for oppression, exploitation, hunger or

poverty. The CWC constantly calls upon all people of good will to expose the fascist and neofascist forces who bear the responsibility for the racist crimes.

The Christian churches in the Soviet Union, as well as all the citizens of our country, take a position of active rejection and condemnation of apartheid. In 1969 at the Troitsa-Sergiyeva Lavra in Zagorsk, the Conference of Representatives of All Religions in the USSR adopted the Declaration on Problems of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Racism and Apartheid, which decisively condemned "any type of discrimination against a person based on his skin color, religious affiliation or social origins" and pronounced that "any oppression of peoples based on the false principle of human inequality is against the law of God and justice."

On 30 September 1985, the heads and representatives of the Christian churches and religious associations in the Soviet Union issued a joint Declaration on the Situation in the Republic of South Africa, in which they expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the black population in South Africa and with its other citizens, organizations and movements favoring liberation from the racist system of apartheid.

The world is becoming crowded, and in the near future people will have to live in close proximity to one another. And even though our neighbor may not resemble us by the color of his skin, his language or customs, he is nevertheless made in the image of God, our brother, and an equal member in the family of mankind.

An. GROMYKO:

We are deeply grateful to His Grace, who has demonstrated that the Christian religion does not reconcile itself with apartheid and fights against it with all of its means. And how do scientists, anthropologists and ethnographers, view racism? Please, Yulian Vladimirovich!

Yu. BROMLEY: SCIENCE AGAINST RACISM

Racism is a loathsome, complex and many-faced phenomenon. It is racist socio-political practice, it is a corresponding concept at the level of everyday consciousness, we might say, household racism. It is, finally, the totality of pseudoscientific conceptions pretending to substantiate the "supremacy" of some and the "inferiority" of other races.

Such conceptions arose in the epoch of colonialism. At first, it is true, these were references--as we have just been convinced, absolutely inconsistent--to divine predetermination. These were followed by efforts to explain the "natural inequality" of races by their biological and mental peculiarities. In the sadly famous book entitled "Experience on the Inequality of the Human Races" published in 1853, its author, Count Josef Artur de Gobino, maintained that the races differ not only in their "beauty" and physical indicators, but also in their mental qualities, which are manifested in the capacity for development and assimilation of the culture of other peoples. From Gobino's

reasoning, it following that the white race, and primarily its "Aryan" elite, was the only one capable of progress. The yellow, or mongoloid, race, was far inferior to it, and the black race could never become accustomed to civilization and is doomed to eternal backwardness.

This "theory," which was indirectly supported by some leading biologists of that time (E. Hekkel, F. Galton and others) turned out to be very convenient for justifying the actions of the European colonizers in their ethnic and racial oppression, and therefore became widespread in Great Britain and other mother countries.

The racist conceptions took on their most reactionary form under nazism, which took on the task of the physical annihilation of the "non-Aryan" peoples. Discredited in the eyes of society by the horrors of Hitler's genocide, in the post-war years they nevertheless re-appeared in modified form. The works of a "psychoracist" direction occupy a special place, and are tied with the so-called intellect coefficient. The American psychologist Arthur Jackson most actively propagandized this approach, using tests to try to prove the intellectual backwardness of black Americans as compared to white. However, in proving definite differences in their reactions to the tests, he refused to consider the different social levels of the tested representatives of the different races and accordingly also their level of education, cultural traditions, etc.

Scientists from various schools repeatedly pointed out all these flaws in the concepts of the psychoracists, and their main argument was the practice of interrelations of representatives of races which are "foreign" to each other. A specific, but rather vivid illustration may be the cases where children whose parents belonged to backward peoples (in the current, scientific sense of the word) were raised in European families. For example, a girl from the Guaynal Indian tribe (South America) untouched by civilization, was adopted at the age of two by a French ethnographer. A quarter century later she became a famous researcher in the same field of knowledge and had an excellent mastery of several European languages.

Today there are not too many open proponents of racist views among western scientists. It is not popular nowadays to be an open racist. On the contrary, it is popular to criticize racism. However, if we read certain works closely, we become convinced that racism in this is not so much rejected as camouflaged. It is represented as being less odious than it really is. New arguments are found for it, which are served up in a more "palatable" casing. The essence of this approach is to pull through the notion of the cultural "inferiority" of the peoples of Asia, and especially Africa. This notion is clearly seen, for example, in the conception of the well-known English historian and philosopher Arnold Toynbee regarding the "active" civilization of the West and the "passive" civilization of the East.

It is curious that the authors of such conceptions often speak out against racism. In other words, subjectively some scientists are its opponents, yet objectively they work for it. In this respect, the works of the functionalists are indicative, maintaining that all social structures must exist forever.

"If something has been proven by recent anthropological studies and colonial practice," wrote British anthropologist B. Malinowski, "then it is true that you cannot with impunity destroy or abolish the old system of traditions, morality or laws and replace them with new morals and a new sense of justice. As a result you will invariably get that which we may call 'black Bolshevism'." The conclusion is more than eloquent.

B. Malinowski proposed segregation as a method for solving the problem of cultural contacts and as a means for preserving traditional African cultures. "Whenever Europeans plan the building of settlements on a significant scale in any colony, segregation and the color barrier become inevitable." Such ideas have served and continue to serve today--in the Republic of South Africa--as an argument for the "regularity" and "necessity" (in the interests of the Africans themselves, supposedly) for various types of inter-racial barriers, up to the system of apartheid. The ideas of functionalism and the practice of the most extreme racists are joined into a single complex.

I would particularly like to focus on the position of ethnologists and sociologists in the Republic of South Africa. Many democratically oriented researchers have been subjected to persecution and forced to emigrate (including almost all African ethnographers). As for those who work in the country, most of them are in opposition to the regime. Some make whatever contributions are within their power to overcome inter-racial prejudices and to improve relations between the different racial groups. They show in their works the value of the blacks and "coloreds", the unscientific nature of the "racial classification" in effect in the Republic of South Africa, and the uniqueness and achievements in the culture of the African peoples, stressing that it is the Africans who are the native residents of this region. In general, however, for the predominant portion of the scientists, opposition to the regime means not rejection of the system of apartheid in principle, but only of its extremes. As a rule, they are in favor of retaining the dominant, privileged position of the whites, but at the same time they also favor expanded rights for the oppressed racial groups, elimination of strict segregation by race, and rejection of the policy of bantustanization. This a liberal opposition which bears a passive character.

Possibly, many proponents of apartheid would eagerly agree with a liberal solution to the problem. However, the oppressed population of the Republic of South Africa would hardly accept such a solution. The events of recent years and the present situation in the country testify to the fact that the struggle against the shameful and criminal system is growing, involving new masses of workers, and in this, we believe, is the assurance of their victory, which is not too far off.

Unfortunately, many researchers in the West do not want--or cannot--make up their mind to clearly define their attitude toward racism in all its manifestations--in theory, politics, and social practice.

I would like to call on my sociologist colleagues in all countries to step up their efforts in the struggle with such a totally intolerable evil in our time as racism. There is much that we can do--both in the scientific sphere, in public life, and in politics. Opposition to racism is a real contribution

to the struggle for preserving peace, for human rights, and for the rights and dignity of all peoples.

An. GROMYKO:

Our discussion has come to an end. I would like to thank its participants--well-known Soviet specialists on the problems of southern Africa--and express our common assurance in the fact that Soviet and progressive world society will do everything possible to bring closer the hour of liberation of South Africa and Namibia.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya". 1985      Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy  
literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12322

CSO: 1807/221



THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BOOK ON URBANIZATION PROCESS IN EASTERN COUNTRIES REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 86 pp 62-63

[Review by A. Loskutova, candidate in historical sciences, of book "Yugo-Vostochnaya Aziya: urbanizatsiya i problemy sotsialnogo razvitiya" [South-east Asia: Urbanization and Problems of Social Development] by I. A. Zvelev, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka", Moscow, 1985, 184 pages]

[Text] In the reviewed monograph, the processes of urbanization and their association with other aspects of social development are examined on the material of four countries in Southeast Asia: Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines.

In his study, the author proceeded primarily from the fact that the growth of cities and the interaction of the city and society are two component parts of one global question. This approach, combined with the generalization of extensive factual material, made it possible to perform an in-depth analysis of the various aspects of urbanization in the indicated states. The rate of increase in the urban population, the difference in the growth of the urban and rural population, and the relation of the natural demographic growth and rural-urban migration are comprehensively examined in the work not only from the standpoint of the present day, but also in a rather deep retrospect.

The study of the urban structure in the countries of Southeast Asia allowed the author to conclude that the nonuniformity characteristic for the urbanization processes in this region leads to the predominant development of large and major (primarily capital) cities. It is here that the current forms of social life and culture and the material and human resources are concentrated. At the same time, many medium-size and small cities are currently in a state of stagnation. As the author justly notes, "the exceptional development of the capitals and certain major cities leads to an actual narrowing of the urbanization processes and inhibits the spread of urban forms of social organization to all of society" (p 71).

Urbanization undoubtedly facilitates the destruction of traditional social relations in the transitional societies of the present-day East, including also in the Southeast Asian countries. The traditional system of socio-cultural values and norms is evolving under the influence of urbanization,

and includes the traditions of clan and fellow villager solidarity, mutual guarantee, the "big family," mutual aid, etc. The monograph shows the direction in which this evolution is proceeding using the specific example of the family.

The comparison of the current urbanization processes in the countries of Southeast Asia with that which took place in the countries of Western Europe, North America and Japan in the initial periods of urbanization allowed the author to define the specifics of these processes in the developing world. On the basis of an analysis of the reasons for the nonuniform character of urbanization and its non-correspondence with other social processes, the monograph draws an important conclusion regarding the inevitable intensification of class contradictions and the formulation of objective conditions for the emergence of acute socio-political conflicts in the developing countries following the path of capitalistic development.

Some of the positions taken in the monograph appear to be rather debatable. The author's thesis regarding the fact that the capital intensive type of industrialization was forced upon the Southeast Asian countries from outside evokes some doubt. If we accept this assumption, then how do we explain the desire of the imperialist powers to make use of the low cost of labor in the developing countries and to orient themselves in the export of capital on labor consumptive forms of production?

It is also difficult to agree with the definition given in the book regarding the fact that the new middle strata include the intelligentsia and white collar workers (p 151-152). While the "intelligentsia" is a social category, the "white collar workers" are undoubtedly a professional category. In essence, the author himself comes to this conclusion on pages 152-153. Therefore, the assumption expressed in the monograph regarding the necessity of delineating the category of the "intelligentsia" and the "white collar workers" depending on the level of complexity of various types of mental and physical labor can hardly be considered successful. The contraposition of categories of a different order is primarily senseless.

On the whole, however, I. Zevelev's monograph is an in-depth study of the current problems of urbanization processes in the developing countries of Southeast Asia.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1985      Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy  
literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12322  
CS0: 1807/221

WESTERN EUROPE

AUSTRIA'S POLITICAL ROLE, COOPERATION WITH USSR DISCUSSED

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 13, Mar 86 pp 12-13

[Article by Oleg Nikolayevich Nikiforov, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent in Austria: "Austria -- On the Crossroads of Europe"]

[Excerpts] The Republic of Austria (territory -- 83,800 square kilometers; population -- over 7.5 million) is a highly developed industrial state of Central Europe. In pursuing a policy of permanent neutrality, Austria is making a significant contribution to the cause of peace and strengthened security on the European continent. This policy, which Austria has been consistently pursuing even under the present strain in international relations caused by the ruling circles of the USA, is having favorable effects on many aspects of life in that country. Trade and economic cooperation is being successfully developed between the USSR and Austria which is among our country's top ten biggest trading partners. Orders placed by the Soviet Union provide employment for 150,000 Austrian laborers and white collar workers

It was in fact at the opera ball of 1986 that both leading candidates in the forthcoming Austrian presidential elections to be held this May made "their debut," if one may put it that way. They are the former UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim of the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) and the former Minister for Health and Environmental Protection Kurt Steyrer of the ruling Socialist Party (SPÖ).

On the Eve of the Elections

Complete power of authority in Austria is concentrated in the hands of the Chancellor. However, the President does have two privileges which under certain circumstances can be decisive for the country's fortunes. That is, the President appoints the leader of any one particular party to form a government, and he has the right to dissolve parliament. Therefore, under the present complex political present circumstances in Austria in which the opposition has taken to the offensive, the presidential elections have become an important political topic. This is all the more so because in the forthcoming 1987 parliamentary elections, the "populists" seriously

hope to make inroads on the socialists. The situation is further complicated by the fact that neither K. Waldheim or K. Steyrer was given an absolute majority in the first round of public opinion polls. Both candidates have their rivals -- Freda Meissner-Blau and Otto Scrinzi. These candidates are "polar" opposites, as it were. But their appearance on the scene rather accurately reflects the current political landscape of the Alpine republic.

In postwar Austria, or the "Second Republic", as is frequently said here, the presidency has traditionally been in the hands of the socialists. The popularity which the 67-year old K. Waldheim enjoys in Austria is doubtless largely due to his many years as UN Secretary General. In fact, Waldheim's international reputation has been a cornerstone of the ÖVP's preelection campaign.

K. Steyrer is another matter. A physician by profession and former Minister of Health and Environmental Protection, Steyrer, in contrast to his rival, has been in the center of Austrian political life for many years. This, of course, has its pluses and minuses. Among the minuses is the SPÖ candidate's answerability for all of the socialist government's failures during the five years of his term in office. Voters are reminded of the 11 billions lost by the leading Austrian industrial concern, Föst-Alpine. That loss led to the removal of the entire management of this country's major nationalized enterprise, to the loss of 200,000 jobs, state indebtedness and inflation which affects the poorer segments of the population. Also recalled are the numerous cases of corruption in the "upper echelons of authority." And even if K. Steyrer does not personally bear the responsibility for this, the dark shadow of failures is cast upon him. To the personal credit of K. Steyrer, who was Western Europe's first minister to undertake the handling of problems concerned with environmental protection, is Western Europe's "most strict" current legislation on limiting atmospheric pollution. Nevertheless, former SPÖ member F. Meissner-Blau has become the candidate who is gaining support from environmentalist supporters, or the "Greens" as they are called here. It is fact she and not Minister Steyrer who has gained the trust of the Green Party.

The 58-year old F. Meissner-Blau is a "newcomer" in the political arena. The road to her nomination as a candidate in presidential elections was not an easy one. It would be no exaggeration to say "political maturity" came to F. Meissner-Blau through her participation in the environmental protectionist movement which was at its peak in 1984-1985. At that time there were attempts to build a hydroelectric power plant in the National Park Danube Lagoon which would have led to the destruction of the unique vegetable and animal world of this region. Supporters of the "Green" movement, whose numbers included socialists as well as representatives of other political parties, seized the proposed construction site and blocked the start of construction. In spite of the fact that the government sent the police and gendarmerie against them, the government was forced to relent. Among those who held on to the national park "bastion" was F. Meissner-Blau who was still a SPÖ member at the time.

The Austrian journal PROFIL notes that the difference between the environmentalist K. Steyrer and the environmentalist F. Meissner-Blau is that "K. Steyrer seeks a compromise between ecology and economics whereas F. Meissner-Blau gives first priority to ecology." According to the candidate herself, that opinion is shared by 250,000-350,000 Austrians. In other words, by a good five percent of the electorate. Of course, that is a very small number in order to become president. But it will be enough to elect the first "Green" deputies to the country's parliament.

The extreme right spectrum of the presidential candidates is held by O. Scrinzi, former parliament deputy from the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) which is currently the socialists' "junior" party in the government coalition. O. Scrinzi's political countenance is clearly manifested in his statements. According to the newspaper VOLKSTIMME, Scrinzi regards N. Burger, the chief of the Austrian "legal" neo-Nazi party, the NDP, as a "respected person and more than a comrade-in-arms." There is also talk about Scrinzi's "brown past." The financial sources of his preelection campaign were also recently disclosed. They come from a certain Nierman fund whose headquarters are located in Munich and Düsseldorf. It is no accident that the NDP is also financed through this fund. Under the present circumstances the radical right and neo-Nazi groups are not yet resolved to nominate openly their own leaders for the presidency as they had done five years ago. The neo-Nazis are not enjoying much popularity in the "Second Republic" (although, according to the local press, there have been 118 violations of the law on forbidden neo-Nazi activity in Austria between April 1983 and November 1985). They are therefore staking on the outwardly unblemished figure of the former deputy. But the change in labels has not altered the essence of the candidate of the radical right.

#### Where the Political Winds are Blowing

The test of strength in the presidential elections of May 4, 1986 between the SPÖ and the VPÖ will be the forerunner of the subsequent intrapolitical struggle in Austria.

I had the occasion to attend the traditional "State of the Nation" message which the opposition leader A. Mock delivered at the beginning of the year at the Belvedere Palace. That report essentially represented the opposition's program. This time the message dealt exclusively with domestic problems and their resolution. The "prescriptions" of the VPÖ, judging from the report, essentially boil down to reducing expenditures for social needs and transferring certain nationalized enterprises to private hands. "Reprivatization" is the theme that runs through the VPÖ's entire economic program which was approved at a recent extraordinary congress of the VPÖ. Among the nationalized enterprises designated for sale to private individuals are the firms Austria Tabak, Salinen, and the national steamship and airline companies. The report also calls for a significant reduction of state control in Austria's largest bank, the Kreditanstaltbankverein and in Austria's third largest bank, the L nderbank. Also slated for the "axe" of "reprivatization" are the plants of the Administration for Nationalized Industries (EIAG) which includes the leading Austrian industry, F st-Alpine. According to the calculations of the VPÖ leaders, 40 percent of EIAG holdings must be in private capital.

It is not hard to figure out that it would be difficult to find a private buyer within Austria who could put out millions for the nationalized industries. Rather, such buyers must be sought abroad. Austrians have already had rather sad experiences with foreign owners of Austrian industries. Last Christmas 593 families in the Austrian town of Gropetersdorf found themselves locked out of the Sanipid factory which is owned by the American chemical corporation Schering. The Austrian factory turned out to be unprofitable for the overseas owners and so was closed. The more than 11 billion schillings that were lost by Föst-Alpine were largely connected with operations in the American market. The overseas "sharks" literally picked its Austrian partner out of Linz where the Föst-Alpine factories were located. This was directly pointed out to me in a conversation I had with H. Guber, secretary of the Austrian Communist Party organization in Linz. Foreign capital already accounts for 30 percent of all investments in the fixed capital of the country's industry. That is why thousands of Austrian workers recently took part in spontaneous protest demonstrations when they learned about the plans to sell the nationalized industries to private hands. H. Guber noted that these demonstrations sounded a threatening warning to those who would like to eliminate nationalized industry.

#### Discussions at the University

The processes taking place in Austria's domestic political life are inseparable from the country's future foreign policy. The ranks of the VPÖ include active supporters of strengthening Austria's ties with the EEC, and pro-Atlantic feelings are strong among a certain segment of the VPÖ leadership.

In conversations at the University of Vienna where I was invited by the Union of Socialist Students, I had the occasion to meet with such opponents as former Minister of Foreign Affairs E. Lanz and A. Kohl, the leader of the VPÖ's political academy, which constitutes this Party's foreign policy staff. We spoke about what the consequences of the Geneva summit meeting would be for Europe's future.

E. Lanz stated the position of the ruling socialist party. He welcomed the recently held summit meeting as an important event in global politics. E. Lanz frankly said that everyone expected the Geneva meeting to be a powerful impetus which should help to activate leading negotiations on disarmament and bring them to a concrete conclusion.

A. Kohl attempted to put forward a different policy line. In reflecting the opinion of conservative right-wing circles, he was very skeptical about anything positive resulting from the summit meeting. Judging from his statements, Kohl felt that it was important "not to take notice" of such important premises included in the final joint declaration such as the inadmissibility of nuclear war in general, the necessity to avert any war between the USSR and the USA, the pledge not to strive for the attainment of military superiority, and confirmation of the task to avert an arms race in space. A. Kohl concentrated his attention on the celebrated "strategic defense initiative" of the USA, and interpreted it as a means of exerting

political pressure on the USSR. This position is particularly noteworthy because A. Kohl is also a major figure in the International Democratic Union (IDU) which is an organization that includes in its ranks several dozen conservative parties of Western Europe, North and South America, and Asia. It is no secret why the results of the Geneva meeting were not to the liking of the "hawks." Clearly, the meeting in Geneva acknowledged certain political postulates that are opposed to the very spirit of the "cold war." It was important to me, as a Soviet journalist, to listen not only to the opinion of politicians, but the voice of the masses. The discussions with the students were underscored by the fact that anyone could participate in them, whether he was officially invited or whether he came there of his own will. I recall an address made by one of the students who called attention to the activity of the American military-industrial complex. Surely the sources that are behind SDI are the very military-industrial corporations that are developing new types of weapons such as the MX, Midget men, winged missiles, and others. SDI has nothing in common with defense, but rather makes it possible to inflict a first nuclear strike, the student emphasized.

The speakers expressed their serious concern about the state of affairs at the Geneva and Vienna negotiations. In fact, the negotiations must not turn into idle talk that screens further military preparations and an accelerated race.

What must one do in order to implement the Geneva agreements and move the negotiations forward? This question was constantly raised by all of the participants in the discussions.

E. Lanz responded that through its own activity in the international arena, neutral Austria has made no small contribution to advancing the cause of détente. The initiatives of the neutral and non-aligned countries in Stockholm have largely contributed to making this important international conference a success. Now, the task is to realize the agreements reached at the Geneva summit meeting. The former minister emphasized that Austria can and must assist in the realization of this goal. To this must be added the fact that it is not only the Austrian government officials, but every Austrian who raises his voice in the defense of peace who thereby makes an invaluable contribution to the cause of détente. All of the participants in the discussions were unanimous on this point.

#### Forum at the "Stadthalle"

The last time I met those who are making their own contribution to the struggle for peace took place not far from the Vienna Stadthalle, a general-purpose athletic-cultural complex. That is where the Austrian capital's largest mass activities are held. This was the site of one of last year's largest anti-war manifestations organized by the Austrian anti-war movement that included representatives from the country's leading political forces such as the socialists, communists, "populists," Catholics, non-party, trade union, and youth activists.

A lively discussion at the entrance to the Stadthalle caught my attention. Two girls wearing Austrian Communist Youth (KJÜ) buttons were distributing copies of the KJÜ's journal EXPLOSIV. Gisela from Graz, and Nadia from Vienna. One was 18 years and already university student while the other was still in high school.

"How is the distribution going?"

"I've already sold eight copies," Gisela replied. "EXPLOSIV has recently changed its format and has become more substantive and attractive. Young people like the magazine and willingly buy it."

"The distribution of our publication," continued Gisela, "is an important Party assignment. It is particularly important now because people must understand why we are opposed to the arms race in space and why we are against placing nuclear missiles in Europe..."

Nadia had just started to fulfill her duties as a distributor of the party newspaper.

"I also consider the distribution of our printed matter to be an important integral part of KJÜ work. Particularly in the schools," she added, "because the bourgeois parties are organizing various associations to attract students for ideological indoctrination. And in the school itself the ideology of a capitalist society is predominant. I have been in the KJÜ for two years. Before I had to work in the school alone. Now there are two of us. My school chum has joined the KJÜ..."

New groups of students continue to arrive at the hall.

"Hello, Oleg," I hear a familiar voice. It is Otto Bruckner, Chairman of the KJÜ.

"What kind of place does today's event have in the anti-war movement?" he repeats my question. "It has a central place in the movement. Many have come here by bus from all of the Austrian lands. The 'Singers for Peace' concert will begin in a few minutes. Many Austrian and foreign groups will perform anti-war songs. Among the performers will be the famous Moscow Youth Festival singer Wilfried. The day will be concluded by a torchlight parade to the parliament building."

Otto is surrounded by friends, so could not continue with the interview.

But then the noise subsides. The young people assembled in the Stadthalle are addressed by an elderly, grey-haired speaker. It's Bruno Kreisky, honorary chairman of the Socialist Party and former Chancellor of Austria. In welcoming the thousands of persons of various political convictions who have come to the Stadthalle, he speaks about that which is most important to life -- peace. His words to the effect that the anti-war movement "is one of the most significant phenomena of our time" are drowned in applause. "The future belongs to the young people. Therefore they must be peace-loving." Such were the concluding remarks of this wizened statesman.



With banners "For the Peaceful Future of Europe!" over seven thousand Austrians with lit torches in their hands marched along the city's streets toward the parliament building.

#### Obvious Advantages of Cooperation

The fact that the present federal Ministry of Trade, Commerce and Industry occupies the building of the former Imperial War Ministry clearly reflects modern day Austria as a country on the crossroads of Europe. A former military power has been transformed into a commercial power, and commander Radetsky gazes with bewilderment from his bronze steed in front of the ministerial facade at today's "civilian" visitors to the building. It was here on the first floor that I was received in his office by the Vice Chancellor and federal Minister for Trade, Commerce and Industry, leader of the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) Norbert Steger. Our conversation concerned present-day and future Soviet-Austrian economic relations.

"I consider economic relations between Austria and the USSR to be very positive," the Vice-Chancellor said at the beginning of our discussion. "These relations," he continued, "constitute an important integral component of the stable political relations that exist between the Austrian Republic and the USSR, a signatory power to the State Treaty on the Restoration of an Independent and Democratic Austria. The preservation of peace is very important to Austria and its foreign policy as a country situated in the center of Europe," N. Steger emphasized.

In evaluating the present status of Soviet-Austrian economic ties, the Vice-Chancellor pointed out that during the period of 1974-1984 the trade volume between the two countries increased more than fourfold and imports and exports grew by approximately the same amount.

"I recall the last, 17th Soviet-Austrian Mixed Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation," said N. Steger. Both sides considered the future trends of Soviet-Austrian cooperative development to be very positive. At that time I had the occasion to talk with Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N. I. Ryzhkhov. That discussion emphasized the special role of the Austrian Republic, the special role of Austrian neutrality, and the special political significance of cooperation between Austria and the USSR. We discussed the Zhlobin Project (a metallurgical plant built in the Belorussian city of Zhlobin with the aid of the Föbst-Alpine company "under key"). The Zhlobin Project is a qualitatively new example of Austro-Soviet cooperation.

"With regard to imports from the USSR," N. Steger noted, a large part of those imports is made up of power supply carriers. This is causing some criticism by the USA," he said. "However, we respond to that criticism by saying that the Soviet Union has always properly fulfilled its own obligations with respect to Austria. In spite of all the differences in

the economic and political structures of both countries, the USSR and Austria have a vested interest in strictly adhering to the agreements currently in effect. And this strict adherence will constitute the basis of our future economic relations.

Five percent of all Austrian imports comes from the USSR. The Soviet Union is in third place among Austria's foreign suppliers. From the export point of view, 4.5 percent of Austrian exports go to the USSR which is in fourth place among those countries which receive Austrian goods."

The Vice-Chancellor noted further that the 12th Five-Year Plan affords good opportunities to expand trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

"In recent years," said Steger, "we have reached new agreements with our Soviet partners, such as in the area of consumer goods production. Austria produces high quality footwear, clothing, and textiles. There will be extensive opportunities in the area of modernizing Soviet plants and factories. In some cases Austria has an industrial structure that corresponds to the industrial structure of the USSR. In addition, one should keep in mind the fact that in some industrial sectors our country has the world's most advanced technology."

"Austria is interested in helping the Soviet economy in the fulfillment of the large-scale plans of the 12th Five-Year Plan. In April there will be in Moscow an exhibit entitled "Contemporary Industrial Technology of Austria" which will be an important part of the year's bilateral economic relations. Later, there will be an interim meeting of Austrian and Soviet specialists from the mixed commission. We are now working out an all-inclusive list of measures to be taken within the foreign economic sphere up to 1988," said the Vice-Chancellor.

As was reported the other day in the newspaper PRESSE, 180 Austrian firms will take part in the exhibit which will run in Moscow from April 2 to April 11. These kinds of exhibits which have been regularly staged since May 1959 have been termed by the trade counselor of the Austrian Embassy in the USSR Friedrich Draschczyk "the best possible entry ticket to the Soviet market." In recent years, the number of Austrian firms that have been cooperating with the Soviet Union has doubled. Whereas there were 300 such firms in the 1970's, there are currently more than 600 firms that are doing business with the USSR.

#### New Prospects

Our economic plans are studied in detail not only in Austrian governmental institutions, but in the companies as well. Not too long ago I came across an interesting document published by the Austrian Chamber of Commerce. According to that document, every other skier in the world uses skis that have the label "Made in Austria." Recently, goods made by the Austrian ski manufacturer Atomic have begun to appear at Moscow athletic stores. I met with Atomic company officials G.-P. Palwein and J. Miller.

"According to our company's estimates," said G.-P. Palwein, there are over nine million athletes engaged in skiing in the socialist countries, not to mention the many millions of ski amateurs." The development of active mass popular physical recreation is getting a lot of attention these days in the USSR. And skiing is exactly the kind of sport that is deemed to be a mass, popular sport.

"The Atomic company," noted the firm's other representative, J. Miller, "has a long established tradition of cooperation with the socialist countries. Mountain skis are being manufactured under an Atomic license by Bulgarian specialists. And in our view, our ties with the USSR are also developing well."

By the way, this kind of cooperation is being planned with Czechoslovakia. "To the credit of the Atomic company," noted J. Miller, it was in fact on skis made our firm that a world downhill speed record of 208.937 kilometers per hour was established. Moreover, this summer the Atomic firm will introduce its own design of automated production for the first time in the history of ski manufacturing."

At the end of this year in Vienna there will be a conference on European security and cooperation. The time-worn stonework of the Hofburg Palace is already being polished. The conference will open in Hofburg which in its own time has witnessed many representative international meetings. The conference will conclude in a new conference center which will be opened in the spring of 1987, not far from the present UN "town." Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs L. Graz noted in a conversation with me "that it is to be one of the principal events of the year." We, the representatives of the neutral and non-aligned countries," the minister emphasized, "must not only play our special role as a 'catalyst' in the preparations for this conference, but we must also present our own interests at the conference." In the words of the minister, "the essence of these interests is the relaxation of international tension, the implementation of the Helsinki accords, and the comprehensive development of good neighbor relationships with all the countries of our continent."

Certainly, one can only agree with the minister. In fact, a normal existence today is unthinkable without peace and without détente, whether this is applied to small countries or major states, or even entire continents.

6289

CSO: 1807/217

WESTERN EUROPE

UNOFFICIAL CENSORSHIP, DISINFORMATION IN FRG ATTACKED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 Jan 86 p 7

[Article by Aleksey Grigoryev, political observer of TASS--special to SOVETSKAYA KULTURA: "Scissors in the Head, Or How Censorship That Supposedly Does Not Exist Operates in the FRG"]

[Text] For more than 6 years, arriving in the morning for work in the TASS office in the Press Building in Bonn, I picked up thick package of newspapers at the door. Outwardly they were very different: the rollicking (in terms of form and style) boulevard BILD with eye-catching, sensation-based headlines; the highbrow WELT, which also belonged to the recently deceased newspaper king Axel Caesar Springer--it was calculated for the elite of society, but it differs from the rollicking BILD perhaps only by the fact that its staunch anti-humanism and double-dyed reactionary character are packaged in a thick cover of literary German language, learned citations, and "intelligent" interviews. The respectable newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, like a German bureaucrat with all his buttons done up, and detailed like the table of stock exchange quotations, the organ of the Americanized West German "establishment". The liberal FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, which, however, has time and again confused where is left and where is right. A dozen other newspapers--Bonn papers, Munich, Hamburg, and Stuttgart papers, which with astonishing persistence and monotony call themselves "independent" and "open to all opinions".

In the FRG it is accepted to speak about freedom--of the press, information and opinions--solemnly, reverentially, and with an indispensable glance at the Basic Law of the country, which states: "Everyone has the right freely to express and to disseminate his opinion by speech, writing and pictures and freely to inform himself from generally accessible sources. Freedom of the press and freedom of reporting by radio and television [as published] are guaranteed. There is no censorship."

In other words, in the FRG there are no official censors, and in West German newspapers anything is published! But the astonishing thing: It suffices to read these newspapers a week, or two or three--and "anything" turns out to be what pleases the strong, the well-off, and the powerful. The external diversity of information--political, economic and cultural--turns out to be solid columns, marching "where they should". In the final analysis, what is the difference if the Springer WELT to this date writes the name of the sovereign state

of the GDR in pejorative quotation marks, and the entire "free" and "independent" press of the FRG in concert refuses the GDR the right to its citizenship!

In his time, the well-known West German playwright Rolf Hochhuth spoke in accurate and open language about this "freedom": "The Federal Republic does not need an official censor, for self-censorship--above all among the bosses of the mass media, i. e., television, radio and the large newspapers--is operating without any interruptions." This, as a matter of fact, is a stupendous thing: Publications that are absolutely not at all alike, television and radio broadcasts that at times grapple with one another not in jest, suddenly stand in line in order of size and start to whistle the same tune in one and the same key. Somehow I engaged in a cheerless count of the words which are most often used by those in charge of West German newspapers in materials on the foreign policy of the USSR. By comparison with the final list, the vocabulary of the cannibal Ellochka is a veritable encyclopedia. The dictionary on this subject consists mainly of the words "threat" and "demand" plus derivatives from them. . . .

In talking about the external differences and the internal similarity of a number of newspapers, I must single out the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU. It really does stand out by its moderateness where the other "above-party" and "independent" newspapers have it in for (the striking steel workers or printers, for example); it stands out through its ironic critique of the American administration (when its representatives, for example, asserted that "there are more important things than peace"); it also stands out by the fact that from time to time it publishes foreign policy documents of our country, when other publications "open to all opinions" without a pause reject the peace initiatives of the USSR, not troubling themselves with the exposition of their essence.

Yes, this moderate liberalism you do not take away from the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU. But liberalism--let us remember the devastating Leninist characterizations of this phenomenon!--remains liberalism. And here, in reporting, let us say, the next official data about the number of unemployed in the FRG (for many years already, this figure has held steady at the level of 2.2-2.3 million), the liberal FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, casting a side-long glance at the all-powerful "employers" mutters something about "seasonal slumps", "trends on the labor market", etc. Or, for example, on 8 May 1985, in the column "Documentation", it publishes a joint declaration of the church organizations of the GDR and the FRG in connection with the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism. It publishes it "in full", neatly omitting from the document the following lines: "The formation of the national-socialist state not least of all corresponded to the economic interests of large industry"; "We remember this day with gratefulness the participants of the Resistance in Germany. . . . We state the fact that the participation of the communists in this resistance has received an insufficiently high assessment by the churches"; "For the sake of the realization of "Great-German plans", millions of people were subjected to torture and death. In Soviet Belorussia alone, one-fourth of the population was wiped out."

One time I happened to have dealings with this newspaper. In one of our journals I published an article about the West German DPA [Deutsche Presse-Agentur GmbH] [German Press-Agency]. In the pages of FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU I came

across a note of the French Agence France-Presse Agency in regard to this, where in 25 lines everything was turned upside down and where the most absurd statements were ascribed to me. Since to demand satisfaction from the correspondent of the Agence France-Presse in Moscow or from his superior in Moscow was difficult, I sent a letter of refutation to the editors of FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU. It was published in the selection of readers' letters. More correctly, half of it. But the other half--where excerpts from the book by the well-known West German journalists Emil Carlebach and Fritz Noll "Information As a Weapon" were cited which I used in my article on the Deutsche Presse-Agentur--was omitted. The name of Emil Carlebach did not find its way into the part of my letter that was published, although I recalled in it a fact that, even without me, was very well known in the Frankfurt newspaper: He was one of its founders.

Having found out about this story, Carlebach smiled: "My name is taboo for these liberals. But I will tell in my own time why they conduct themselves in such a way." The book by Emil Carlebach "Censorship Without Scissors: The Years When the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU Was Established (1945-1947)", which was published by the publishing house Roederbergverlag during the past summer is this story. Forty years ago, on 1 August 1945, he, together with six other owners of licenses for the publication of the first democratic newspaper in the American occupation zone of Germany, signed for publication the first issue of FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU. Two years after this, Emil Carlebach, an active anti-fascist, for 11 years a prisoner in Nazi death camps, one of the leaders of the Resistance in Buchenwald, a talented journalist and staunch communist, by decision of the American occupation authorities (and with the diligent assistance of the West German reactionaries), was deprived of his license for the publication of the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU and sent packing.

He writes in his book: "More than 7,000 press workers are united in the German Union of Journalists of the FRG, which belongs to the trade union for workers in the printing and paper industries. But who among them during the time of wage discussions between workers and employers can reflect a trade union point of view in "his" newspaper? More than 1,000 journalists of the FRG are collaborating within the framework of the civil initiative "Journalists Against Nuclear War". But who among them can explain to the readers of these newspapers the position of the participants of the movement for peace?

Hundreds of journalists indignantly condemn the fact that the Springer Company has the opportunity of spreading its poison under the mask of "journalism". But all of the "independent" newspapers close their eyes to this disgrace: Their owners are happy when they receive printing orders from Springer, for this brings them profits. Neither arrests nor prohibitions or censorship scissors were needed to transform the new, democratic newspapers that developed in 1945 into printing enterprises of that kind. Bans on the practice of the profession for some, millions as presents for others--this was sufficient to create a system called censorship without scissors. . . ."

I got acquainted with Carlebach's book in Springen near Frankfurt/Main in a seminar which traditionally is conducted jointly by the German Union of Journalists, the workers in the printing and paper industries of the FRG entering the

trade union, and the trade union of the workers of the USSR Ministry of Culture. The past seminar was devoted to the question of what and how the West German press wrote about the USSR and, vice versa, the Soviet press--about the FRG during the year of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism. The subject of the freedom of the press in bourgeois society arose time and again in the seminar--in the speeches as well as in the discussions, in the books that were presented to each other, as well as in the usual discussions with colleagues, including the chairman of the German Union of Journalists, Eckart Spoo, who knows the West German intrigues very well.

Thus, we talked about freedom of the press:

"The Basic Law of the FRG talks about freedom of the press as though it were a fact. However, what is written in the constitution is by no means a statement of fact, but, sooner, a precept," Eckart Spoo mused. "The question is from whom and for what must there be a free press, and what we can do in order for it to be free."

The conversation, naturally, turned to the question of who in reality determines the character of the "free" bourgeois press.

"The press is independent," E. Spoo stated. The publisher is dependent on advertisers, who on the average bring him three-fourths of his income, with the large advertisers also placing printing orders. The journalists depend on the publisher, who accepts them for work, moves them, promotes or dismisses them, who pays them a large or small increment to their salary, or none at all, and who, finally, directly or indirectly, interferes in the work of every journalist."

Such a course of the conversation could not but lead to a characterization of the newspaper and magazine king Springer (this was 3 weeks before his death).

"A publisher of the type of Axel Caesar Springer expects from journalists that they...--here the usual mockery of Eckart Spoo turned into sarcasm--that they voluntarily, without any sort of constant reminders, inject the readers under the skin with his own fears of the Russians, of socialism, of trade unions, of the intelligentsia, of young people and of the future, so that everyone should be prey to the same fears."

It is impossible not to recognize that Axel Caesar Springer was a phenomenon in the press of the FRG and all of Western Europe. Possessing colossal power in the publishing world, he graphically and physically demonstrated the dependence of "freedom of the press" on the money bag. Revanchist claims for the "rebirth of the German Reich within the borders of 1937", a fierce anti-Sovietism, absolute support for the "free and social market economy", i. e., one-hundred-percent capitalism, and in addition hysterical Zionism, which time and again has extracted the applause of Tel Aviv--such was the symbol of Springer's faith. He inculcated this credo through the editions of his publications running into the millions, categorically and insolently, he indeed subjected the public opinion of the FRG to censorship, and it is not astonishing that his many political opponents tried to maintain loyal relations with him. The 73 year old newspaper magnate has died, but his octopus conglomerate, the largest in Europe, has remained.

Of course, there have been and are those in the FRG who had the courage to declare: "We do not intend to write for Springer, for he deceives the readers, claiming to be non-partisan and independent. We do not intend to write for Springer, for the journalism being practiced in his publications is a mockery of the principles of democracy." These words made the round of the press a number of years ago. They were signed by such well-known masters of culture of the FRG as the writers Siegfried Lenz, Heinrich Boell, Guenter Grass, Guenter Wallraff, (Wolfgang Koeppen), and the film directors Rainer Werner Fassbinder and Alexander Kluge.

The Springer press is only a part, though a very considerable one, of the FRG misinformation machine which is concealed by the slogan of "freedom of the press" and the mechanism of censorship which is expressively called "scissors in the head". "We live in a society, in which the most dangerous form of censorship is not prohibition, but manipulation"--that is the opinion of the well-known writer, translator and publisher Hans-Christian Kirsch, who appeared under the pseudonym of Frederick Hetman. "The thesis that 'there is no censorship' in itself says as little as the report that it is not raining. The one as well as the other by no means guarantees good weather," the writer Klaus Stiller reckons. "The Courage to Have One's Opinion. Against Freedom Under Censorship"--is the title of a collection of articles by well-known writers and journalists of the FRG published some time ago by the Fischer-Verlag publishing house. "The courage to have one's opinion"--this is a demand made of all of us, authors and readers, for the habit toward "scissors in the head", toward the biased selection of information, and toward the obedient view of those who have power is extremely widespread. The courage to express one's opinion inspires the hope for a change in the political climate of the FRG," it was said in the foreword to the book. Its authors have this courage.

8970

CSO: 1807/209



WESTERN EUROPE

SPANISH REFERENDUM DEMONSTRATES STRENGTH OF ANTI-WAR FEELING

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 13, Mar 86 p 16

[Article by Vladimir Pavlovich Chernyshev, PRAVDA correspondent in Spain:  
"Referendum in Spain Demonstrates Strength of Anti-War Feeling"]

Despite the very active campaign for NATO membership that has been waged within Spain, and extensive outside pressure, the referendum of March 12 did not offer convincing support for the advocates of the Atlantic alliance. It did demonstrate the solidarity of the forces opposing Spain's participation in NATO and those who favor a more active role for Spain in the struggle to lessen international tension. .

The positions of the basic political forces were clearly defined prior to the referendum of March 12, and they were well known to the voters. But the results of that referendum turned out to be surprising for many persons. In fact, why did the supporters of Spain's participation in NATO win if public opinion polls taken over the last few years regularly indicated that most people demanded the country's exit from the North Atlantic bloc?

Let's remember that three to four years ago 60 to 70 percent of Spaniards voiced their opposition to NATO. In time, that percentage decreased. That is explained by the fact that the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), being the Party in opposition, actively opposed Spain's entry into NATO. However, after the socialists came to power in the fall of 1982, the leadership of the PSOE gradually changed its position and started to point out the "advantages" that would be enjoyed by being a member of the Western bloc. The leadership conducted a broad "explanatory" campaign within its party, consolidated its pro-Atlantic policy at the PSOE Congress, and later initiated an active propaganda campaign among the masses, particularly among its own voters. (One should recall that over 10 million persons, or 48 percent of the electorate, voted for candidates from the socialist party in the last parliamentary elections in October 1982).

All of this could not help but affect the balance of forces with respect to the question of Spain's membership in NATO. Socialists from the top leadership succeeded in convincing a considerable segment of the population of the correctness of their position. Although the gap between the opponents and supporters of NATO was narrowed, last-minute polls still predicted that the participants in the "No to NATO" movement would be victorious. The Center for Sociological Research which undertakes studies for the government, confirmed that the position of the socialists was in the lead by 1.8 percent.

Judging from all accounts, the last ten days prior to the election turned out to be decisive. The pro-NATO advocates threw their principal forces into the last battle. All of the ministers and all of the PSOE leadership members went out to the provinces. The socialists held 7,700 meetings and assemblies in various regions in an effort to convince Spaniards that the only reasonable approach for the country was to stick to the present status of matters, i.e. to remain in NATO. True, the almost unanimous forecasts of the latest polls deprived the socialist party leaders of their earlier confidence. Whereas the head of the government, F. González, spoke only about victory at the beginning of the campaign drive in connection with the referendum vote, in his last interviews he was already admitting the possibility of defeat and did not refuse to answer journalists' questions about what the socialist cabinet and he personally would do if the advocates of leaving NATO came out on top.

Tranquility reigned in the pro-NATO camp shortly after the polling places closed. In just a few minutes after the polls closed, the SER radio network, established with the help of the Emopublica firm, reported the first results: The "yes" votes exceeded the "no" votes by five percent. After all of the ballots had been counted, that gap turned out to be even wider -- 52.5 percent voted for participation in NATO, and 39.9 percent voted against.

What was it that influenced the outcome of the referendum? What compelled many Spaniards to change their mind?

#### A Cunning Maneuver in Formulating the Question

The government's attempt to confuse the public was reflected in the very formulation of the question placed on the ballot. The voter had to answer the question as to whether or not he would be agreeable to Spain's continued participation in the Atlantic alliance if the country did not join the military organization of the NATO bloc, adhered to the ban of nuclear weapons on Spanish territory, and reduced the military presence of the United States in Spain.

The conditions attached to the question placed a certain segment of the public in a difficult position. Many people could subscribe to three points of the question, but categorically objected to Spain's participation in NATO. Almost the entire population favored the elimination of American military bases in Spain (according to a public opinion poll published prior to the referendum, even among those who decided to vote for participation in NATO, 80 percent of the voters favored the curtailment of the American military presence or for the complete elimination of USA military bases on Spanish territory). However, among those who were opposed to the USA bases, only a few were supporters of NATO, and the others were opposed. In effect, the voters were presented with four questions which they had to answer with a single "yes" or "no".

In the course of the campaign, the NATO question was transformed to a significant degree into a question of confidence in the socialist government. To a large measure this was due to the position taken by the conservative opposition. The opposition declared that it viewed the referendum as a tactical maneuver of the PSOE aimed at this year's forthcoming parliamentary elections. This was in fact the primary motive behind the appeal of the rightist opposition made by the "National Alliance" leader Fraga to its supporters to boycott the referendum election. The Reformist Party leader, and deputy from Catalonia M. Roca, demanded that if the government lost the referendum, it should dissolve parliament and call for early general elections.

However, it was not only the opposition, but the socialists themselves who had a hand in transforming the referendum into a plebiscite on confidence in the government. In a radio address, F. González declared that if the socialist cabinet's position on keeping the country in NATO is opposed by a majority of the population, the socialists would have no other recourse but to dissolve parliament.

#### "The Strategy of Fear"

Therefore, it was no accident that a considerable segment of those voters who did not agree to Spain's participation in NATO nonetheless voted "yes" in the referendum. They did so, not because they supported the North Atlantic bloc, but rather because they supported the socialist government and were opposed to attempts by the rightists to use the results of the election to undermine the authority of the SPOE and thereby pave the way for a conservative victory in the next parliamentary elections. For many, the forthcoming parliamentary electoral struggle overshadowed the essence of the referendum.

The fear of disrupting political stability was complemented by the fear of "inevitable economic repercussions" in case of a "no" victory. This theme was vigorously disseminated by the government, particularly in the last days of the campaign. In a television interview F. González declared that the European countries would lose their confidence in Spain if it left NATO. He justified the need for Spain's participation in the North

Atlantic bloc by the fact that "the technology which Spain does not have for its development comes entirely from the Western world that belongs to NATO and to which countries Spain sends 75 percent of its exports." The head of the government asserted that it would be difficult for Spain to provide for its security alone because this "would require a doubling of expenses for defense, and even that amount would not be enough."

And if the economic situation deteriorates and there is a demand for new expenditures to purchase arms, we will not be able to allocate capital investment for creating new jobs. This will result in greater unemployment which is already more than 21 percent. In short, even those who have jobs will risk the loss of work if Spain leaves the Atlantic Alliance. This is a rather strong argument for Spaniards of whom there are already three million unemployed. In the opinion of most observers, the "strategy of fear" (in both the political and economic spheres) was one of the principal reasons underlying the changed views of many voters.

Throughout the entire period in which discussions about Spain's membership in the North Atlantic bloc were in progress, the NATO countries, and primarily the USA, exerted increasing pressure on the government, the political parties, and Spanish public opinion for the purpose of securing a victory for the pro-NATO advocates. Without forgetting to make assurances that they had no intentions of interfering into the internal affairs of Spain, the NATO bosses with ever-increasing persistence made open appeals to Spaniards to vote for participation in NATO and warned that if Spain did join NATO it would be practically excluded from the Western community.

Three-fourths of the Spanish population do not read the newspapers. During the campaign the amount of television time given to the NATO supporters was immeasurably greater than that made available to NATO opponents. An anti-NATO demonstration attended by 750 thousand persons in Madrid on February 23 received as much television coverage as was given to four meetings of socialists in which the total attendance was not even 300 persons.

The political parties and organizations who came out in the course of the pre-referendum campaign in favor of taking Spain out of NATO, today declare the need to unify their action and consolidate the efforts of the forces to the left of the socialists in order to present a joint front in the next parliamentary elections.

In summing up the results of the referendum, Secretary of the Trade Union Conference of Workers Commissions A. Moreno emphasized that the "motto "No to NATO" encompasses all of the forces of progress in Spain." The Spanish Communist Party has announced that it will demand the non-renewal of the Hispanic-American agreement on bases, and will propose a parliamentary investigation of the presence of nuclear arms at American bases. General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain I. Galiego noted with pleasure that "despite the interference of NATO and Washington, millions of Spaniards repudiate the North Atlantic Alliance as a tool of war, and are fully resolved to continue their struggle to take the country out of that bloc. This is one of the principal results of the referendum."

The government, and yes, even the rightist opposition, will doubtless have to reckon with the opinions of seven million voters who have rejected the pro-Atlantic policy course. To ignore them would mean a disregard of the broad strata of the population that will largely determine the alignment of political forces in Spain in the forthcoming parliamentary elections this October.

6289

CSO: 1807/215

WESTERN EUROPE

PRAVDA VIEWS SOVIET-SWEDISH ECONOMIC TIES

PM151458 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 86 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent M. Kostikov dispatch: "USSR-Sweden: Traditions and Virgin Soil"]

[Excerpt] Stockholm, April--In terms of the volume of foreign trade commodity turnover Sweden occupies 13th place among the Soviet Union's foreign trade partners of the industrially developed capitalist states, and 10th place in the USSR's trade with West European countries. In recent years there has been a trend toward increased commodity turnover. Over the past 5 years its volume amounted to approximately R4 billion.

Our country satisfies to a considerable degree Sweden's needs for various kinds of fuel and industrial raw materials. Soviet metal-cutting machine tools, forging, pressing, and other processing equipment, tractors and Lada motor vehicles enjoy deserved recognition here. The USSR also supplies electrical engineering equipment, bearings, ferroalloys, petrochemical products, and other commodities. Soviet technology is used at a number of Swedish metallurgical enterprises. Last year the list of Soviet commodities supplied to Sweden was expanded by almost 20 products.

An important place among Swedish exports to our country is occupied by equipment for machine building and for the metallurgical, timber, pulp and paper, and wood processing industries, metal-removal machine tools, special presses for powder metallurgy, industrial robots, trucks, and port lift trucks. In Leningrad the city's largest hotel complex--the Pribaltiyskaya, constructed with the participation of Swedish workers and specialists--has opened its doors. Today's contracts include deliveries from Sweden of complete equipment for the Balakhna Pulp and Paper Combine, the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Combining, and also the large dairy combine under construction in Lianozovo, which will process up to 1.25 million liters of milk a day.

What do Swedes themselves say about the present state of mutual trade and economic ties and their development prospects? We discussed this at 8, Fredsgatan with Carl-Johan Aberg, secretary of state at the Swedish Foreign Ministry's Foreign Trade Department.

"It was precisely trade contracts with Soviet Russia," he recalled, "that preceded the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries. The experience accumulated over more than 60 years is an important basis for seeking mutually acceptable decisions. Recently our trade and economic ties have been in the ascendant, although there is a problem--a certain imbalance in them. For the time being, we Swedes are selling less on the Soviet market than we purchase. At the same time, in addition to deliveries to Sweden of Soviet raw materials, above all sources of energy--petroleum products and coal--considerable potential exists for expanding imports of Soviet industrial equipment and products of processing industry and metallurgy."

C. J. Aberg indicated a map hanging on his office wall.

"Look," he said, "Sweden and the Soviet Union are close neighbors in the Baltic. This is why trade ties can and must be far broader than they are now. This is the general opinion of Swedish business circles cooperating with Soviet partners. Some progress has been made here. This concerns, above all, the Swedish-Soviet credit agreement signed last year, which provides the terms for funding Swedish exports of machinery and equipment to the USSR. Another no less important event was the intergovernment agreement on coastal trade, as a result of which Sweden, following Finland and Norway, has begun developing this new and very promising--from our viewpoint--direction in mutually advantageous cooperation with your country. Approximately 20 different Swedish firms and companies are already participating in it."

Stockholm has made a careful study, C. J. Aberg believes, of the USSR's economic development plans for the 12th 5-Year Plan. Soviet-Swedish trade and economic ties could play a role of considerable importance in implementing them. This primarily concerns, according to him, the reconstruction and modernization of various production facilities, including those where Swedish equipment is used. Such major projects as the comprehensive processing of the Kola Peninsula's minerals and the opening up of oil and gas deposits on the continental shelf of the Barents Sea are also of great interest to Sweden. These questions have already been touched on at the last session of the Swedish-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

The main board and one of numerous enterprises of the major Swedish concern of Alfa-Laval are located in the small town of Tumba, 50 km from the Swedish capital. Its products--equipment for the food, meat, and dairy industries--are known in many countries. Back at the dawn of its formation--and the concern is now more than 100 years old--Alfa-Laval supplied Russia with separators for dairy farms. It was one of the Swedish firms which began trading with the Republic of the Soviets during the first postrevolutionary years. Here, at the Tumba plant, up to 100 different types of separators for the dairy industry are produced.

"You could say," Hans Stahle, president of the concern and chairman of the board, said, "that Alfa-Laval was in at the start of Sweden's trade and economic ties with the USSR. A recent example of these ties nowadays was the delivery of equipment by our concern for the construction of a large dairy combine at Lianozovo. But we not only sell but also purchase in your country--which accords with the chief principle of our ties and their mutually advantageous

nature. Through our daughter firm--Profila--we acquire from the USSR various types of machine tools and other machine-building equipment. Many other major Swedish industrial firms also carry on traditional stable ties with Soviet partners; Johnson, Sunds-Diffibrator, Sandvik, Atlas Copco. These are just some of the Swedish companies engaged, with others, in implementing the long-term program for the Development of Economic, Industrial, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation between Sweden and the USSR, designed for the period through 1990."

Hans Stahle is not only head of the Alfa-Laval concern but also chairman of the Swedish Committee to Promote Trade with the USSR, which today embraces approximately 300 leading Swedish companies and firms.

"During his recent visit to Stockholm," he continued, "N.I. Ryzhkov and representatives of Swedish business circles and leaders of industry and trade were able to have a businesslike discussion of many of the issues in Swedish-Soviet trade and economic ties. It is our general opinion that the development of mutually advantageous ties has favorable prospects. This concerns very different directions of cooperation, including major deals on a barter basis."

At the end of February the Swedish Government announced the adoption of a resolution aimed "at a ban on the export of certain commodities from Sweden." Its purpose, so it was pointed out, was to prevent the country from being turned into transit territory for the passage of high-technology products subject to export controls in the producer country. Commenting on that decision, the Swedish press pointed out that it accorded with the policy of embargoes and "sanctions" practised by the United States contrary to the generally accepted norms of international trade. This U.S. policy also runs counter to Sweden's national interests. In this connection Hans Stahle declared: "We Swedish businessmen engaged in international trade are against any restrictions. We want always to have open borders for the development of mutually advantageous ties with all countries."

/8918

CSO: 1825/65



WESTERN EUROPE

BRIEFS

AUSTRIAN VISITORS IN KAZAKHSTAN--A delegation of leading workers of the Austrian-Soviet Society headed by central secretary of the society and member of the Austrian Communist Party Central Committee Karl Lersch was in Alma-Ata. They arrived in the USSR at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. At the House of Friendship the members of the delegation and activists from the Kazakh Friendship Society took part in a Soviet-Austrian seminar. On the eve of their departure Karl Lersch told a KazTAG correspondent: "The 27th CPSU Congress was an event of particular historical importance not only for the Soviet people but for all peace-loving forces. The members of our society, created in 1945, are trying more broadly to acquaint the Austrian public with its decisions and with the new peaceful Soviet initiatives which have a sincere and frank character." The guest noted that the interest of the Austrians in the life of the Soviet people is continuously growing. Broadening scientific and cultural ties promotes this. [Excerpts]  
[Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 86 p 2]

CSO: 1807/254

CHINA/ FAR EAST/ PACIFIC

AGRICULTURAL AID TO SRV DETAILED

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 8, Feb 86 p 21

[Article by F. Bogomolov, staff correspondent for EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, Hanoi - Moscow: "Man Makes the Land Bountiful"]

[Text] Nature has bestowed great bounties on the Vietnamese land. The countryside is stunningly beautiful, a multitude of mountains and hills covered with luxuriant tropical greenery and in the valleys squeezed between them a great many squares of rice paddies. Several have already been harvested and in others the shoots are green . . . . This is the scene at any time of the year.

Much of what nature itself "grows" on the Vietnamese land can be successfully used for food and other purposes necessary for human life. Nevertheless, despite nature's generosity, the peasant here makes the land bountiful with his hands and his labor, which is frequently far from easy. For the soil, if it can be called that, is cultivated the year round, and thus the farmers have few rest periods.

The territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam stretches for 1,750 kilometers from north to south. Naturally, there are areas in the country which differ from each other not only in their natural features but also in their social and economic characteristics. I would like to talk about the northern regions of Vietnam, and particularly about agricultural affairs in Vin Fu Province, situated 80 kilometers from Hanoi, which I visited at the invitation of the editorial board of the newspaper, Nyan Zan.

The main direction of economic development in this region is the agricultural industry, the priority in many mountainous districts being the cultivation of tea. Tea plantations cover a total of 7,200 hectares in the province. Approximately 34% of this area belongs to state farms. Cooperatives cultivate the remaining plantations. I am presenting the mentioned figures in order to try to grasp the essence of another comparison. State farms, which have the smaller area of tea plantations, provide 51% of the value of the total gross output of the tea-growing industry. This is primarily due to the higher agricultural efficiency and the provision of qualified specialists. That is the reason for the considerable difference in yield of the tea plantations. Whereas the cooperatives annually harvest 1.6-2 tons of tea leaves per

hectare, the state farms harvest three tons per hectare.

"One of the serious problems of tea growers," Comrade Zung, the deputy chairman of the Council of People's Deputies of Vin Fu Province, told me in an interview, "is the restoration of plantations and the introduction of new areas." In order to understand the complexity of this problem, the following figures were given. Fifty thousand dong must be spent to put each new hectare of tea plantation into cultivation. I was taken to see completely bare hills from which all the vegetation had been stripped in order to plant new tea bushes after the soil had been appropriately improved. These hills had been covered with luxuriant tropical vegetation. One can imagine the volume of work this required.

Over the past ten years, up to 150 hectares of new tea plantations have been introduced annually. The goal has been set to restore all the tea plantations requiring renovation by 1990.

As soon as the area of the tea plantations increases, their productivity increases, and naturally the problem arises of building appropriate industrial plants to process the tea leaves. What has been done and is being done toward this end? In the district of Thanh Hoa, I interviewed Comrade Tnong, the deputy director of a tea-producing association. "The association has three processing enterprises which were built with the aid of the Soviet Union," she explained. "Two of them specialize in the production of black tea and the other in the output of green tea."

In order to create a guaranteed supply of raw material for processing and more fully utilize the available capacities, tea-growing state farms are affiliated with the plants. An example is the Thanh Ba plant in the district of Thanh Hoa. It has its own state farm which grows and delivers tea leaves to the plant.

It should be noted that tea-growing state farms which work on the principles of cooperation with the processing enterprises, as a rule, achieve the best production indices. I will present some data for the state farm of the above-mentioned plant. For five years (from 1981 to 1985) the productivity of the tea plantations increased from three to four-and-a-half tons of tea leaves per hectare. The gross output of this raw material increased by 50% for the same period, while the area of the tea plantations only increased by 73 hectares. Thus, the increase in the harvests of tea leaves was basically due to the increase in productivity of the plantations.

The state farm collective is unable to provide its processing enterprise with raw material to fully utilize its capacity. Therefore, the plant buys part of its raw material from agricultural cooperatives, which undoubtedly leads to additional costs. This is why the expansion of its farms' tea plantations, the restoration of existing ones and the increase in their productivity are the main problems for the plants of the state farms. Such a form of cooperation, in the opinion of the leaders and agriculture specialists of Vietnam, facilitates the solving of many social and economic problems in the workers' collectives of both the processing enterprise and the tea-growing

state farm.

Most of the cooperatives of the district of Thanh Hoa have tea plantations. However, they also give serious attention to the production of rice, the basic food crop. Admittedly, the area of rice cultivation in the cooperatives is, as a rule, small. Literally every suitable plot of land is used to grow it.

We visited the Dong Zuan cooperative. Its chairman, Buy Van Vin, acquainted us with the organization of production on the farm and with several aspects of the way the peasant labor involved in growing rice is paid. The cooperative has a total of 150 hectares of rice fields, to which teams are assigned. Each team has up to 50 members.

Proceeding from the government plan assigned to the cooperative, the farm management develops a plan for the production and sale of rice for all the teams. Under this plan, a certain amount of fertilizer and water from irrigation installations are allocated. As is demonstrated by practice, approximately 60% of the cultivated grain goes into the government silos, and the rest remains at the cooperative's disposal.

Based on this amount of rice, several funds for payment in kind are created on the farm. Part of the grain is to be used for planting and meeting the needs of animal husbandry and for rewarding the winners of the competition, and it also goes into the insurance fund and into the fund for paying the laborers in kind. How is it distributed?

The rice-growing team, after receiving its plan for the production of rice, specifies the yield per square meter of rice paddy required to successfully fulfill the plan. Let us assume that 80 kilograms of rice must be harvested from each square meter. However, someone in the team harvests less than this amount, let us say 70 kilograms, and someone else more than the planned amount.

In such a case, when the managers of the cooperative distribute the rice as payment in kind, they take into account the amount of grain each team was short or over by how many kilograms and by how much the yield was above or below the set level. If a team harvested ten kilograms of grain less (in comparison with the plan) from a square meter of rice paddy, the total amount of grain the team is deprived of is determined by taking the total area assigned to it (in square meters) and dividing it by ten.

The grain in the form of payment in kind is distributed among the members of the rice-growing team based on the labor contribution of each person. The contribution is evaluated by means of the decibel system.

A competition has been developed in the cooperatives of Vietnam for harvesting five tons of rice from each hectare of rice paddy. At present, in the northern provinces of the republic a number of farms generally have two harvests of 30 to 40 centners per hectare annually. However, in the south, several of the cooperatives created there have already harvested five tons of rice grain per hectare. Yet it should be kept in mind that the conditions for

cultivating this crop are much better there.

In interviews with party and economic leaders and specialists in the provinces, districts, cooperatives and state farms, the urgent problems of agriculture today were discussed. As our Vietnamese comrades stressed, particular attention is now being given to improving the economic mechanism, primarily the implementation and adjustment of cost accounting. There is much more of this crucial work to be done in the future.

12793

CSO: 1825/46

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

BRIEFS

USSR-JAPAN FISHERIES TALKS HELD--Moscow, April 9, TASS--Prospects for the development of Soviet-Japanese relations in the field of fisheries were considered at talks which were held here today between Vladimir Kamentsev, minister of fisheries of the USSR, and Tsutomu Hata, Japanese minister of farming, forestry and fisheries, who arrived in Moscow on Tuesday for a working visit. The two ministers discussed, in particular, ways to bring the stands of the sides closer together at the second session of the Bilateral Commission for Fisheries. The differences which arose at the session concern the terms of mutual fisheries in the 200-mile economic zones of the USSR and Japan in the current year. At the opening of the talks Vladimir Kamentsev pointed out that the Soviet Union and Japan had years-long experience in cooperation in fisheries. He expressed hope that Soviet-Japanese relations in this field would develop in the spirit of goodneighbourliness and mutual benefit. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 9 Apr 86 LD] /8918

CSO: 1812/109

END